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THE NATIONS OF TO-DAY

*A New History of the World*

EDITED BY JOHN BUCHAN

# GREAT BRITAIN

VOLUME ONE

THE NATIONS
OF TO-DAY

*A New History of the World*

EDITED BY
JOHN BUCHAN

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# GREAT BRITAIN

VOLUME ONE

THE NATIONS OF TO-DAY

*A New History of the World*

EDITED BY JOHN BUCHAN

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# GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This series has been undertaken to provide for the ordinary citizen a popular account of the history of his own and other nations, a chronicle of those movements of the past of which the effect is not yet exhausted, and which are still potent for the peace and comfort of the present. The writers conceive history as a living thing of the most urgent consequence to the men of to-day; they regard the world around us as an organic growth dependent upon a long historic ancestry. The modern view of history—apart from the pedantry of certain specialists—is a large view, subordinating the mere vicissitudes of dynasties and parliaments to those more fateful events which are the true milestones of civilisation. Clio has become an active goddess and her eyes range far. History is, of course, like all sciences, the quest for a particular kind of truth, but that word "truth" has been given a generous interpretation. The older type of historian was apt to interest himself chiefly in the doings of kings and statesmen, the campaigns of generals and the contests of parties. These no doubt are important, but they are not the whole, and to insist upon them to the exclusion of all else is to make the past an unfeatured wilderness, where the only personalities are generals on horseback, judges in ermine and monarchs in purple. Nowadays, whatever we may lack in art, we have gained in science. The plain man has come to his own, and, as Lord Acton has put it, "The true historian must now take his meals in the kitchen."

The War brought the meaning of history home to the world. Events which befell long ago suddenly became disruptive forces to shatter a man's ease, and he realised that what had seemed only a phrase in the textbooks might be a thing to die for. The Armistice left an infinity of problems, no one of which could be settled without tracing its roots into the past. Both time and space seemed to have "closed up." Whether we like it or not, our isolation is shattered, and not the remotest nation can now draw in its skirts from its neighbours. The consequence must be that even those who are averse to science, and prefer to settle everything by rule of thumb, will be forced

to reconsider their views. Foreign politics have become again, as they were in the age of Pitt and Castlereagh, of Palmerston and Disraeli, urgent matters for every electorate. The average citizen recognises that the popular neglect of the subject contributed in no small degree to the War, and that problems in foreign affairs are as vital to him as questions of tariff and income tax. Once it used to be believed that a country might be rich while its neighbours were poor; now even the dullest is aware that economically the whole world is tightly bound together, and that the poverty of a part lessens the prosperity of the whole. A merchant finds his profits shrinking because of the rate of exchange in a land which was his chief market; he finds his necessary raw material costly and scarce because of the dislocation of industry in some far-away country. He recognises that no nation is commercially sufficient to itself, and he finds himself crippled, not by the success, but by the failure of his foreign colleagues. It is the same in other matters than commerce. Peace is every man's chief interest, but a partial peace is impossible. The world is so closely linked that one recalcitrant unit may penalise all the others.

In these circumstances it is inevitable that interest in foreign countries, often an unwilling and angry interest, should be compulsory for large classes which up to now have scarcely given the matter a thought. An understanding of foreign conditions—though at first it may not be a very sympathetic understanding—is forced upon us by the needs of our daily life. This understanding, if it is to be of the slightest value, must be based upon some knowledge of history, and Clio will be compelled to descend from the schools to the market-place. Of all the movements of the day none is more hopeful than the spread through all classes of a real, though often incoherent, desire for education. Partly it is a fruit of the War. Men realise that battles were not won by muddling through; that as long as we muddled we stuck fast, and that when we won it was because we used our brains to better purpose than our opponents. Partly it is the consequence of the long movement towards self-conscious citizenship, which some call democracy. Most thinking people to-day believe that knowledge spread in the widest commonalty is the only cure for many ills. They believe that education in the most real sense does not stop with school or college; indeed, that true education may only begin when the orthodox curriculum is finished. They believe, further, that this fuller training comes by a man's own efforts and is not necessarily dependent

upon certain advantages in his early years. Finally, they are assured that true education cannot be merely technical or professional instruction; that it must deal in the larger sense with what are called the "humanities." If this diagnosis is correct, then the study of history must play a major part in the equipment of the citizen of the future.

I propose in these few pages to suggest certain reasons why the cultivation of the historical sense is of special value at this moment. The utilitarian arguments are obvious enough, but I would add to them certain considerations of another kind.

Man, as we know, is long-descended, and so are human society and the State. That society is a complex thing, the result of a slow organic growth and no mere artificial machine. In a living thing such as the State growth must be continuous, like the growth of a plant. Every gardener knows that in the tending of plants you cannot make violent changes, that you cannot transplant a well-grown tree at your pleasure from a wooded valley to the bare summit of a hill, that you cannot teach rhododendrons to love lime, or grow plants which need sun and dry soil in a shady bog. A new machine-made thing is simple, but the organic is always subtle and complex. Now, half the mischiefs in politics come from a foolish simplification. Take two familiar conceptions, the "political man" and the "economic man." Those who regard the citizen purely as a political animal, divorce him from all other aspects, moral and spiritual, in framing their theory of the State. In the same way the "economic man" is isolated from all other relations, and, if he is allowed to escape from the cage of economic science into political theory, will work havoc in that delicate sphere. Both are false conceptions, if our problem is to find out the best way to make actual human beings live together in happiness and prosperity. Neither, as a matter of fact, ever existed or could exist, and any polity based upon either would have the harshness and rigidity and weakness of a machine.

We have seen two creeds grow up rooted in these abstractions, and the error of both lies in the fact that they are utterly unhistorical, that they have been framed without any sense of the continuity of history. In what we call Prussianism a citizen was regarded as a cog in a vast machine called the State, to which he surrendered his liberty of judgment and his standard of morals. He had no rights against it and no personality distinct from it. The machine admitted no ethical principles which might interfere with its success, and the

citizen, whatever his private virtues, was compelled to conform to this inverted anarchy. Moreover, the directors of the machine regarded the world as if it were a smooth, flat high-road. If there were hollows and hills created by time, they must be flattened out to make the progress of the machine smoother and swifter. The past had no meaning ; all problems were considered on the supposition that human nature was like a mathematical quantity, and that solutions could be obtained by an austere mathematical process. The result was tyranny, a highly efficient tyranny, which nevertheless was bound to break its head upon the complexities of human nature. Such was Prussianism, against which we fought for four years, and which for the time is out of fashion. Bolshevism, to use the convenient word, started with exactly the same view. It believed that you could wipe the slate quite clean and write on it what you pleased, that you could build a new world with human beings as if they were little square blocks in a child's box of bricks. Karl Marx, from whom it derived much of its dogma, interpreted history as only the result of economic forces ; he isolated the economic aspect of man from every other aspect and desired to re-create society on a purely economic basis. Bolshevism, though it wandered very far from Marx's doctrine, had a similar point of view. It sought with one sweep of the sponge to blot out all past history, and imagined that it could build its castles of bricks without troubling about foundations. It also was a tyranny, the worse tyranny of the two, perhaps because it was the stupider. It has had its triumphs and its failures, and would now appear to be declining ; but it, or something of the sort, will come again, since it represents the eternal instinct of theorists who disregard history, and who would mechanise and unduly simplify human life.

There will always be much rootless stuff in the world. In almost every age the creed which lies at the back of Bolshevism and Prussianism is preached in some form or other. The revolutionary and the reactionary are alike devotees of the mechanical. The safeguard against experiments which can only end in chaos is the wide diffusion of the historical sense, and the recognition that " counsels to which Time hath not been called, Time will not ratify."

The second reason is that a sense of history is a safeguard against another form of abstraction. Ever since the War the world has indulged in a debauch of theorising, and the consequence has been an orgy of catchwords and formulas, which,

unless they are critically examined, are bound to turn political discussion into a desert. The weakening of the substance of many accepted creeds seems to have disposed men to cling more feverishly to their shibboleths. Take any of our contemporary phrases—" self-determination," " liberty," " the right to work," " the right to maintenance," " the proletariat," " class consciousness," " international solidarity," and so forth. They all have a kind of dim meaning, but as they are currently used they have many very different meanings, and these meanings are often contradictory. I think it was Lord Acton who once said he had counted two hundred definitions of " liberty." Abraham Lincoln's words are worth remembering: " The world has never yet had a good definition of the word ' liberty,' and the American people just now are much in want of one. We are all declaring for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. We assume the word ' liberty ' to mean that each worker can do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labour, while, on the other hand, it may mean that some man can do as he pleases with other men and the product of other men's labour." Are we not in the same difficulty to-day? Perhaps the worst sinner in this respect is the word " democracy." As commonly used, it has a dozen quite distinct meanings, when it has any meaning at all, and we are all familiar in political discussions with the circular argument—that such and such a measure is good for the people because it is democratic; and if it be asked why it is democratic, the answer is, " Because it is good for the people." " Democratic " really describes that form of government in which the policy of the State is determined and its business conducted by the will of the majority of its citizens, expressed through some regular channel. It is a word which denotes machinery, not purpose. " Popular," often used as an equivalent, means merely that the bulk of the people approve of a particular mode of government. " Liberal," the other assumed equivalent, implies those notions of freedom, toleration and pacific progress which lie at the roots of Western civilisation. The words are clearly not interchangeable. A policy or a government may be popular without being liberal or democratic; there have been highly popular tyrannies; the German policy of 1914 was popular, but it was not liberal, nor was Germany a democracy. America is a democracy, but it is not always liberal; the French Republic has at various times in its history been both liberal and democratic without being popular. Accurately employed, " democratic " describes a

particular method, "popular" an historical fact, "liberal" a quality and an ideal. The study of history will make us chary about the loud, vague use of formulas. It will make us anxious to see catchwords in their historical relations, and will help us to realise the maleficent effect of phrases which have a fine rhetorical appeal, but very little concrete meaning. If political science is to be anything but a vicious form of casuistry it is very necessary to give its terms an exact interpretation, for their slipshod use will tend to create false oppositions and conceal fundamental agreements, and thereby waste the energy of mankind in empty disputation.

The third reason for the study of history is that it enables a man to take a balanced view of current problems, for a memory stored with historical parallels is the best preventive both against panic and over-confidence. Such a view does not imply the hard-and-fast deduction of so-called laws, which was a habit of many of the historians of the nineteenth century. Exact parallels with the past are hard to find, and nothing is easier than to draw false conclusions. A facile philosophy of history is, as Stubbs once said, "in nine cases out of ten a generalisation founded rather on the ignorance of points in which particulars differ, than in any strong grasp of one in which they agree." Precedents from the past have often been used with disastrous results. In our own Civil War the dubious behaviour of the Israelites on various occasions was made an argument for countless blunders and tyrannies. In the same way the French Revolution has been used as a kind of arsenal for bogus parallels, both by revolutionaries and conservatives, and the most innocent reformers have been identified with Robespierre and St. Just. During the Great War the air was thick with these false precedents. In the Gallipoli Expedition, for example, it was possible to draw an ingenious parallel between that affair and the Athenian Expedition to Syracuse, and much needless depression was the consequence. At the outbreak of the Russian Revolution there were many who saw in it an exact equivalent to the Revolution of 1788 and imagined that the new Russian revolutionary armies would be as invincible as those which repelled the invaders of France. There have been eminent teachers in recent years whose mind has been so obsessed with certain superficial resemblances between the third century of the Christian era and our own times that they have prophesied an impending twilight of civilisation. Those of us who have been engaged in arguing the

case for the League of Nations are confronted by its opponents with a dozen inaccurate parallels from history, and the famous plea of the "thin edge of the wedge" is usually based upon a mistaken use of the same armoury.

A wise man will be chary of drawing dapper parallels and interpreting an historical lesson too rigidly. At the same time there are certain general deductions which are sound and helpful. For example, we all talk too glibly of revolution, and many imagine that, whether they like it or not, a clean cut can be made, and the course of national life turned suddenly and violently in a different direction. But history gives no warrant for such a view. There have been many thousands of revolutions since the world began; nearly all have been the work of minorities, often small minorities; and nearly all, after a shorter or longer period of success, have utterly failed. The French Revolution altered the face of the world, but only when it had ceased to be a revolution and had developed into an absolute monarchy. So with the various outbreaks of 1848. So conspicuously with the Russian Revolution of to-day which has developed principles the exact opposite of those with which it started. The exception proves the rule, as we see in the case of our own English Revolution of 1688. Properly considered, that was not a revolution, but a reaction. The revolution had been against the personal and unlimited monarchy of the Stuarts. In 1688 there was a return to the normal development of English society, which had been violently broken. It may fairly be said that a revolution to be successful must be a reaction—that is, it must be a return to an organic historical sequence, which for some reason or other has been interrupted.

Parallels are not to be trusted, if it is attempted to elaborate them in detail, but a sober and scientific generalisation may be of high practical value. At the close of the Great War many people indulged in roseate forecasts of a new world—a land fit for heroes to live in, a land inspired with the spirit of the trenches, a land of co-operation and national and international goodwill. Such hasty idealists were curiously blind to the lessons of the past, and had they considered what happened after the Napoleonic wars they might have found a juster perspective. With a curious exactness the history of the three years after Waterloo has repeated itself to-day. There were the same economic troubles—the same rise in the cost of living, with which wages could not keep pace; the same shrinking of foreign exports owing to difficulties of

exchange; the same cataclysmic descent of agricultural prices from the high levels of the war; the same hostility to profiteers; the same revolt against high taxation, and the same impossibility of balancing budgets without it. The Property tax then was the equivalent of our Excess Profits tax, and it is interesting to note that it was abolished in spite of the Government because the commercial community rose against it. There was the same dread of revolution, and the same blunders in the handling of labour, and there was relatively far greater suffering. Yet the land, in spite of countless mistakes, passed through the crisis and emerged into the sunlight of prosperity. In this case historic precedent is not without its warrant for hope.

One charge has been brought against the study of history—that it may kill reforming zeal. This has been well put by Lord Morley: "The study of all the successive stages and beliefs, institutions, laws, forms of art, only too soon grows into a substitute for practical criticism of all these things upon their merits and in themselves. Too exclusive attention to dynamic aspects weakens the energetic duties of the static. The method of history is used merely like any other scientific instrument. There is no more conscience in your comparative history than there is in comparative anatomy. You arrange ideals in classes and series; but the classified ideal loses its vital spark and halo." There is justice in the warning, for a man may easily fall into the mood in which he sees everything as a repetition of the past, and the world bound on the iron bed of necessity, and may therefore lose his vitality and zest in the practical work of to-day. It is a danger to be guarded against, but to me it seems a far less urgent menace than its opposite—the tendency to forget the past and to adventure in a raw new world without any chart to guide us. History gives us a kind of chart, and we dare not surrender even a small rushlight in the darkness. The hasty reformer who does not remember the past will find himself condemned to repeat it.

There is little to sympathise with in the type of mind which is always inculcating a lack-lustre moderation, and which has attained to such a pitch of abstraction that it finds nothing worth doing and prefers to stagnate in ironic contemplation. Nor is there more to be said for the temper which is always halving differences in a problem and trying to find a middle course. The middle course, mechanically defined, may be the wrong course. The business of a man steering up a difficult estuary is to keep to the deep-water channel, and that channel

may at one hour take him near the left shore and at another hour close to the right shore. The path of false moderation sticks to the exact middle of the channel, and will almost certainly land the pilot on a sandbank. These are the vices that spring from a narrow study of history and the remedy is a broader and juster interpretation. At one season it may be necessary to be a violent innovator, and at another to be a conservative; but the point is that a clear objective must be there, and some chart of the course to steer by. History does not provide a perfect chart, but it gives us something better than guess-work. It is a bridle on crude haste; but it is not less a spur for timidity and false moderation. Above all it is a guide and a comforter to sane idealism. "The true Past departs not," Carlyle wrote, "nothing that was worthy in the Past departs; no Truth or Goodness realised by man ever dies, or can die; but all is still here, and, recognised or not, lives and works through endless change."

JOHN BUCHAN.

# EDITOR'S FOREWORD TO THE SERIES

Since this Series is being published both in Great Britain and in the United States, greater space has been devoted to the two English-speaking countries—two volumes apiece—than to the others. This arrangement allows not only of a more detailed description of recent history, but provides more space for that consideration of the economic resources, situation and social movements which forms such an important feature of the Series.

It only remains to add that the spelling of foreign place-names throughout the text follows that laid down by the Permanent (Official) Committee on Geographical Names; and that where accounts are given of armed forces of the present day, they are drawn from sources of the highest authority.

# NOTE

THIS volume has been prepared under the care of Major-General Lord Edward Gleichen. "An Outline of British History to 1914" is the work of Professor R. S. Rait, C.B.E., LL.D., Historiographer-Royal for Scotland. Of the sub-sections describing the fighting in the Great War Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, K.C.M.G., C.B., late Director of Military Operations, General Staff, is responsible for "The Military Effort of the British Empire," Major-General Sir George Aston, K.C.B., late Royal Marine Artillery, for Naval Operations, and Mr. H. A. Jones, M.C., for those in the Air. The remainder of the volume has been written by Capt. R. M. Robinson, M.A., sometime Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford.

In this volume the Great War has intentionally been allotted considerably more space than in the other volumes; for it is largely to the close historical study of the War and its immediate aftermath that we in England must look in order to draw lessons for the future.

The second volume provides further information on economic, administrative, defence, labour and other social questions, besides chapters on the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man.

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# SECTION I. AN OUTLINE OF BRITISH HISTORY TO 1914

# AN OUTLINE OF BRITISH HISTORY TO 1914

## INTRODUCTORY

### THE INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHY

The essential fact in the geography of the British Isles is, of course, insularity and the difference between seaboards and land frontiers. From very early times it was assumed that the island of Great Britain was intended by nature to form a single state, and the proximity of Ireland was long ago recognised as involving, for the security of Great Britain, the necessity of some form of political connection between the two islands. Had Ireland been farther off, it might have remained independent or become a French possession, but the Irish Sea, as has been pointed out by Sir H. Mackinder, forms in reality a tract of inland waters. "The Irish Sea is a British Mediterranean, a land-girt quadrilateral." The Channel Islands are British by the historical accident that the ruler of the Duchy of Normandy, to which they belong geographically, conquered England and that, when his successors lost the Duchy, they retained this remnant of it. It was, on the other hand, no accident but the pressure of geographical and physical conditions that made inevitable a British connection with Ireland. After a great English kingdom had been established in the southern portion of Great Britain, it was also inevitable that Wales and Scotland should ultimately come into some sort of relation with England. Wales was conquered at a comparatively early date, but the history of Scotland is the story of the long and successful resistance of a nation to having its destiny determined merely by geography.

The historic border-line between the kingdoms of England and Scotland is itself a defiance of geographical conditions. The natural or geographical division is the line from Clyde to Forth, not from Solway to Tweed, and, indeed, if the subsidence of the British Isles were slightly greater, the low-lying plain from

Clyde to Forth would have been submerged and the kingdom of Scotland could never have been formed. Historical accidents and the human will fixed the actual boundary, and attempts at conquest by successive monarchs of England delayed the time when a political union, freely made, recognised the logical consequences of the facts of geography. But before the invasion of Edward I there was a considerable approximation of the two nations, and even in the course of three centuries of almost constant warfare there were thinkers who urged that a union was inevitable and that dynastic marriage alliances should be made with the deliberate intention of creating a single succession to the two Crowns. When this hope was realised and James VI of Scotland became James I of England, he tried to bring about a complete union of the two kingdoms. He failed, but he never ceased to believe that a land which had "no wall to hedge it but the four seas" must ultimately become a united state. "These two kingdoms," he told his first English Parliament, "are so conjoined that if we should sleep in our beds, the union should be, though we would not."

The influence of geography upon the internal history of the island is indicated by terms of ordinary conversation. A Scotsman is described in England as coming from "north of Tweed," never "north of Solway." The phrase commemorates the circumstance that the historic route from England to Scotland was by the east coast, along the strip of coast-line from Berwick to Edinburgh. The road is marked by sites of battles, and two important battles were fought at Dunbar, where the hills come nearest to the sea. The battle sites on the more mountainous western route are less numerous and belong to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when, for political reasons, three Scottish invasions of England were made through Lancashire, from which the invaders expected to receive some support. Battle-grounds are, as a rule, closely connected with geographical considerations. The cockpit of Scotland was the area round Stirling, which commands the access from the Lowlands to the Highlands. In England there is no single cockpit. The estuary of the Severn, commanding the routes to Wales and to Devon and Cornwall, made the vicinity of Gloucester important in the strategy of several civil wars, and especially in the Great Rebellion. London stands at the lowest point where the tidal Thames could be bridged by the engineers of old times, and it commands a variety of routes into the interior; Oxford is near the parting of the ways from the Upper

Thames into the Midlands and the south-west; and York commands the routes to the north.

The value of a frontier which is entirely seaboard depends upon holding the command of the sea, and in early times the inhabitants of Great Britain were exposed to constant attacks which they had no means of warding off. Hence the series of invasions—Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Danish and Norman—which occupy so large a part of our history up to the eleventh century. The estuary of the Thames, Southampton Water, the Severn, the Humber, and the Wash all afforded access to the interior of the country. The depths of the Thames estuary made it the route which the Danish invaders specially attempted, and from London they could most easily make the raids into the borders of Wessex which most seriously affected the stability of the West-Saxon kingdom; and in the later Danish wars it was the resistance of the Londoners that delayed the conquest of Swegen and his son Canute.

In the English invasions of France the command of the sea was an essential factor; the English gained it by the naval victory of Sluys in 1340, the prelude to Crécy and Poitiers, and they lost it by a defeat off La Rochelle in 1372, after which the French Empire of Edward III was also lost. In later French wars the safety of the country was imperilled by the French naval victory off Beachy Head in June 1690, until the English command of the sea was restored by the battle of La Hogue in May 1692; and the "darkest hour" in the Great French War of 1793–1815 was the spring of 1797, when the mutinies in the British fleet gave France, Spain and Holland a chance of commanding the Channel. After that opportunity had been lost, Napoleon warned the Directory that an invasion of Great Britain was impossible without command of the sea; the futile attempts at an invasion of Ireland illustrated the truth of his warning, and in 1802–5 he himself, though he made great preparations for an invasion, never risked an actual attempt.

The history of the Great German War of 1914–18 also illustrates the necessity of the command of the sea for any invasion of an island. There have, indeed, been a few successful landings or invasions since the Norman Conquest—generally by pretenders to the throne who could rely upon support in this country, such as Henry IV in 1399, Edward IV in 1461, and Henry VII in 1485; but each of these brought very small forces with him. The landing of William of Orange in 1688 was rendered feasible by his eluding King James's fleet,

but the fleet, though its inexperienced commander was loyal, was ready to mutiny, and the incident was no test of sea-power. The success of the invasion was assured by the desertion of King James's army under the future Duke of Marlborough.

The value of a seaboard for trade was not an important factor in English commercial prosperity until after the discovery of America. English industry was largely connected with wool-growing, and the wool was sent across the Channel to the markets of Flanders, where it was manufactured into cloth. From Flanders also came many of the imports of luxuries from the east of Europe, and others were brought by the ships of the Venetian Republic, while the carrying trade in northern waters was largely in the hands of the Hanseatic League. Great Britain lay on the edge of the known world and was too far distant from the great ocean highway of the Mediterranean to claim a place among the trading communities of the mediaeval world. The discovery of the New World and of the Cape route to India and China, which destroyed the commerce of Venice, created that of the British Isles.

The Atlantic gradually came to succeed the Mediterranean as the highway of ocean traffic, and Britain, lying close to the continent of Europe and with free access by sea to the other continents, came ultimately to acquire the greatest position in the carrying trade of the world. The wars with Holland in the seventeenth century established this position, and, towards the end of the eighteenth, the exploitation of natural resources in coal and iron began to make Great Britain a rich manufacturing country. One result of the Industrial Revolution was to make vast changes in the distribution of population and to bring into existence the great towns of northern England and south-western Scotland, while maritime trade was enormously increased by the export of manufactured articles. The configuration of the coast-line and the existence of ports in so many different regions has distributed this trade, and whereas in the Middle Ages the trade of England and Scotland was almost entirely in eastern ports, the western ports of Bristol, Cardiff, Liverpool and Glasgow share with London, Hull, Newcastle, Leith, Dundee and Aberdeen the trade which modern conditions have created.

Among the geographical conditions which have influenced the expansion of the British Isles into the British Empire, the sea is, of course, again the first consideration. The Empire originated in maritime commerce, for the earliest settlements were made in pursuit of trade. Sir John Seeley used to point

out that the Spanish war in the reign of Elizabeth was "the infancy of English foreign trade," and Professor Ramsay Muir insists on the fact that "colonisation was not the *forte* of the Elizabethans. . . . Their task was to break down the barriers and prepare the way: to throw open the pathways of the seas for the coming and going of the islanders and of all the world." The barriers were the artificial restrictions which Spain and Portugal had placed upon the freedom of the seas in time of peace; and when these were removed, England, in the seventeenth century, was able to make use of her geographical situation. The result was the rise of trading settlements in India and America.

The political and religious controversies of the home country assisted the development of these settlements into colonies, and there began a series of conflicts with the colonists of other nations. In these conflicts the geography of America and of India played a large part. When the struggle between Great Britain and Canada reached its critical stage, the British Colonies occupied the whole of the central seaboard on the east coast of North America, thus separating the French colony of Canada in the north from the French colony of Louisiana in the south. The war began in a French attempt to connect these two colonies by a line of forts behind the English settlements, the western boundaries of which were in the region of the Allegheny Mountains, and to make the Ohio a French river. Similarly, the details of the struggle in India were the results of local geographical conditions. But British successes always depended upon sea-power. The position of Quebec made its possession of supreme importance for the conquest of Canada, but Quebec was taken because the British held the command of the waters of the St. Lawrence, and Wolfe could make attacks and feints as and where he chose. In the same war the relief of Madras, in February 1769, by a small British fleet had a profound influence upon the course of the struggle. On the other hand, the final defeat of the British in the War of American Independence was largely due to the circumstance that a large British fleet was diverted to a campaign in the West Indies and thus left open the coast of North America to the French. When Cornwallis was besieged in the Yorktown peninsula, a French fleet arrived and blockaded Chesapeake Bay, thus cutting off his communications with the sea. The French used their command of the sea to transport a large army to reinforce the troops guarding the entrance to the peninsula, and Cornwallis was compelled to surrender with his whole force.

A scattered Empire dependent on sea-power for its defence requires a large number of detached stations in various parts of the globe. There are outposts of the British Empire, at comparatively short distances, on all the great ocean trade-routes, except in the Eastern Pacific—Gibraltar, Malta and Cyprus in the Mediterranean, the Bermudas, Ascension, St. Helena and the Falkland Islands in the Atlantic, and others in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. Many of these "stepping-stones," as they have been called, were originally acquired for commercial, and others for political, purposes. Mauritius, for example, and Singapore were annexed primarily for purposes of commerce, Gibraltar and Aden for purposes of defence, and Hong-Kong for a mixture of both reasons. The capture of Cape Colony was originally valuable as a "stepping-stone" on the route to India, though there has developed from it the great Union of South Africa. Geographical considerations also have determined the course of British policy in Egypt. In the Napoleonic wars the position of Egypt on the road to India made it essential to prevent its falling into the hands of the French, and when in the nineteenth century a passenger-route to India across Egypt was first developed and then superseded by the Suez Canal, it became still more important to ensure the existence of good government in the country. This geographical consideration is the ultimate explanation of British military operations both in Egypt itself and in the Sudan. The existence of a large number of isolated possessions creates many problems of defence, but their use as coaling-stations is a counter-balancing advantage in time of war. Their possession does, however, involve a constant temptation to bad strategy. The gallant defence of Gibraltar is one of the bright pages of the story of the American War of Independence, but it has been urged that in that conflict Great Britain saved a rock at the expense of losing a continent.

In recent years the problem of the geographical position of various parts of the Empire has been modified by the progress of mechanical invention and by the development of what were colonies into great self-governing Dominions and partners in the Empire. The task of protecting an Empire scattered over two hemispheres is less difficult when the responsibility is shared by the Dominions—always provided that this decentralisation is accompanied by a well-arranged scheme of co-operation for purposes of naval defence. From one point of view the history of the Empire is the story of a triumph achieved by human ingenuity and human daring over the natural difficulties created

by the facts of geography. The importance of geographical factors has varied with the development of methods of transport and communication, and the influence of geography upon history cannot be adequately discussed without constantly keeping in mind the contemporary stage of progress in this respect. It is also important to remember that the strength of geographical obstacles depends upon the use made of them by mankind. Results are sometimes attributed to the existence of, e.g., an " impenetrable forest " as barring the way of an invader. The phrase lays, in most instances, too much stress upon the natural obstacle, and ignores the circumstance that a dense forest is generally useless for purposes of defence unless it is actually defended. It is of great importance as strengthening the defensive, and forests, so employed, have played a great rôle in warfare, and especially in the warfare of early times. Man has never submitted placidly to the geographical conditions in which he finds himself, and the saying " History is, above everything else, geography " is not in itself true. A great part of history is the use which man has made of geography.

## I

### ROMANS AND ANGLO-SAXONS

The history of this island up to the end of the eleventh century of the Christian era is a strange comment upon the poet's assertion that " when Britain first at Heaven's command arose from out of azure main," it received a divine charter exempting it from the fate of lands which were not so blest and might " in their turn, to tyrants fall." The essential features of the story are a series of conquests. The phrase " Conquests and Christianity " might serve for a summary of the events of a thousand years—at least of the events that are known to us—for much that happened during that long period of time has vanished irrecoverably from human memory, and influences which affected generations of the inhabitants of this island have passed beyond the limits even of imaginative conjecture.

Britain makes its first definite appearance on the stage of history as the scene of an invasion, which is remembered both for that reason and because it links our past to one of the most famous of mortal names. Otherwise, the invasion of Julius Caesar is a mere footnote to history. He had been annoyed by some help given by the British to the Gauls, and he had been

told that there were mines of gold and iron and tin on British soil. With the double object of punishing and prospecting, he landed on the coast of what was afterwards the county of Kent in the summer of 55 B.C., was unpleasantly surprised by the amount of opposition which was offered by the natives, and took his departure. In the following year he returned and began an attempt at conquest, but was recalled by a rebellion in Gaul. Thus he passes out of our history, and the real Roman Conquest began, about a hundred years later, with the invasion of Aulus Plautius (A.D. 43), in which a Roman province was founded with Colchester for its capital. The Britons, first under Caradoc, or Caratacus, and then under the warrior-queen Boadicea, or Boudicca, offered an obstinate resistance, and the conquest of South Britain was not completed until the time of Agricola, who spent seven years (A.D. 78–85) in the government of the new province. He extended Roman dominion into North Britain and built a line of forts from the Firth of Clyde to the Firth of Forth.

The wild northern tribes, called by the Romans "Caledonians," proved very difficult to subdue; about A.D. 120 the Emperor Hadrian gave up the attempt to do more than protect the Roman province, and he built the great Roman Wall from the Solway Firth to the mouth of the River Tyne. A later effort to restore Agricola's boundary-line proved futile, and only a small portion of modern Scotland—chiefly the district between the Tweed and Abercorn on the Forth, and a portion of Dumfriesshire—ever came under permanent Roman occupation.

It was different in South Britain, which for three centuries was a Roman province, with great Roman roads and large Roman towns inhabited by Roman traders as well as by soldiers—Colchester, London, Lincoln, Gloucester, Bath, Chester and York. Roman landowners had their estates or *villae* all over the country, and their lands were cultivated by British slaves. It is uncertain how far the Romans remained a foreign colony and how far the old social organisation of the British people was Romanised. In the later stages of the Roman occupation Christianity was introduced into South Britain, and there was a native British Church, but the Christian religion does not seem to have made the same progress as it did elsewhere in Europe in the same two centuries (200–400); and this circumstance renders it unlikely that the process of Romanisation was anything like complete.

With the departure of the Romans (A.D. 410) began a fresh series of conquests. By the middle of the fifth century Saxons, Jutes and Angles from the lands near the mouth of the River

Elbe had begun to settle in what became Angle-land. The resistance offered by the British is commemorated by the ancient traditions connected with the name of King Arthur, but the details of his life are purely legendary. He may have succeeded in delaying the progress of the invading hordes, but he could not stop it, and in the sixth century there grew up a number of new kingdoms in the old Roman province. On the east coast, from the Firth of Forth to East Anglia, were a number of kingdoms of the Angles ; farther south were the East Saxons, the Middle Saxons and the Jutes ; and on the south coast were the South Saxons and the West Saxons whose territory extended northwards to the Thames Valley. In the centre of England was the kingdom of Mercia, or the march-land where Angles and Saxons met.

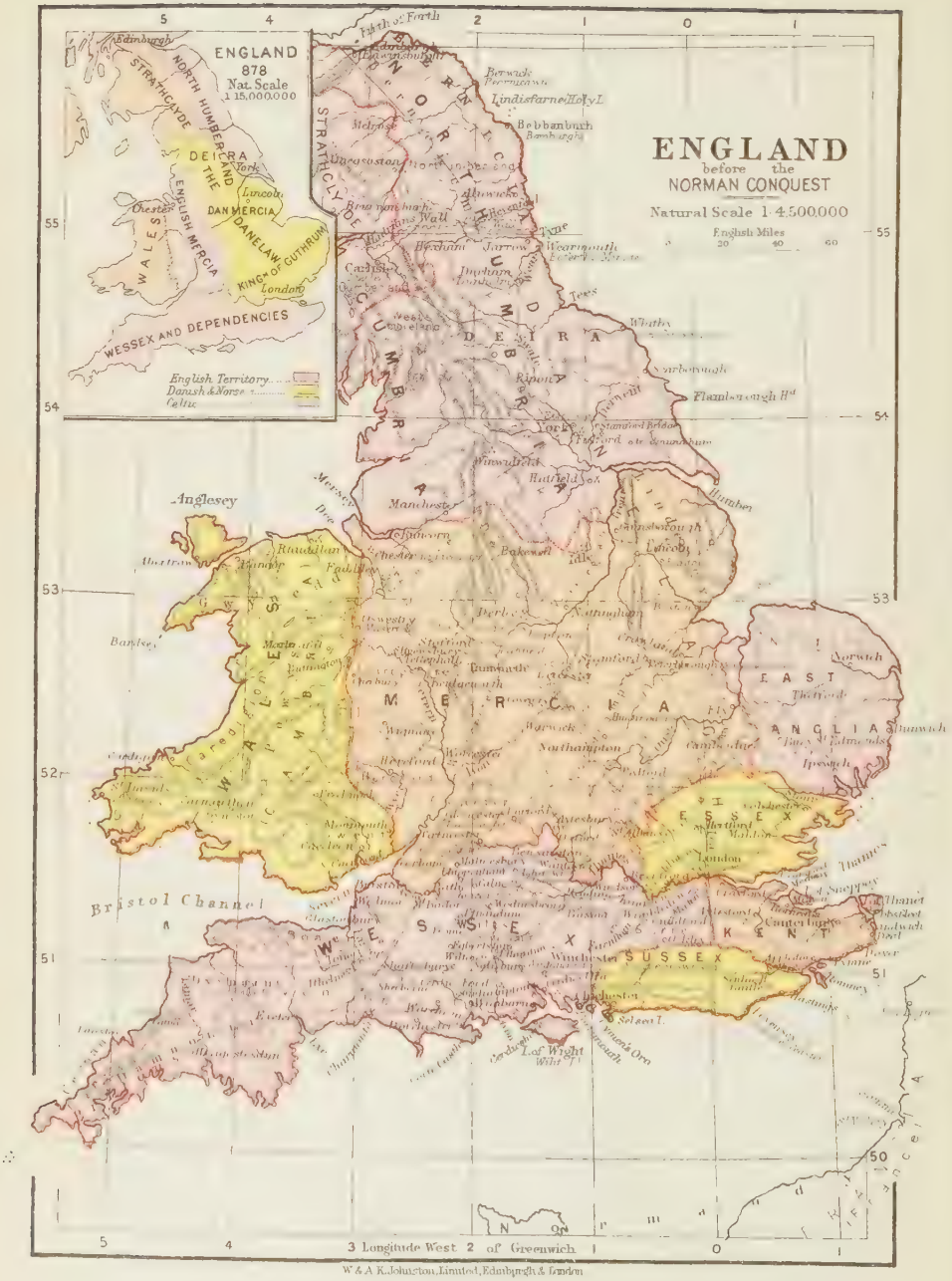
The whole of the west, from Cornwall to the Firth of Clyde, remained British, and such of the native population as escaped massacre or enslavement by the conquerors took refuge among their fellow-Britons. North of Clyde and Forth the inhabitants were Gaels and Picts—the latter a people of uncertain race who, in historical times, spoke the Gaelic tongue. To these must be added a body of Scots who, in the sixth century, crossed from Ireland to the modern Argyllshire and founded the kingdom of Dalriada or Scotland. Of these various peoples only the Scots were Christian when they invaded this island, but in the year 563 an Irish missionary, St. Columba, settled in Iona and began the conversion of the people of Pictland and of the British of Strathclyde, and in 597 the Roman missionary St. Augustine began at Canterbury the conversion of the English.

In the early years of the seventh century, while St. Augustine was still labouring in Kent, the most probable future of Great Britain might well have seemed to be a threefold division into a great English kingdom stretching from the Firth of Forth to the English Channel under the supremacy of the Northumbrians ; a great British kingdom along the west coast from the Bristol Channel to Strathclyde ; and, north of Clyde and Forth, a kingdom of the Picts and Scots. In point of fact, the Picts and Scots did unite in the middle of the ninth century (844), but there never was a great British kingdom, and the boundary of the kingdom of England came ultimately to be the Tweed and not the Forth. The possibility of a cohesion among the British or Welsh was destroyed by the capture of Chester by the Angles in 613, for this event separated the British in Wales from the British in Cumbria and Strathclyde.

The supremacy of the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria was

short-lived. In the early part of the seventh century it was strong, but it became the protagonist in the struggle between Christianity and paganism and was greatly weakened by the conflict. Its King, Edwin, was converted to Christianity about 625, but he fell in battle eight years later in the course of a pagan reaction, headed by Penda, King of Mercia. Twenty years afterwards Northumbria made a great recovery, but only to find itself divided by a new quarrel between Roman Christianity and Scottish Christianity. The followers of St. Columba, who reconverted Northumbria after the pagan reaction, were not anti-Roman, but they were out of touch with the Papacy, they formed no part of the organised system of the Roman Church, and they followed their own method of calculating the date of Easter. The Scottish Church was an almost unorganised society of Christian teachers, who founded monasteries for the conversion of the people among whom they settled and had no dioceses or other unit of administration. As England gradually became entirely Christian, these northern missionaries came into acute conflict with their colleagues who had been trained in the organised Roman Church in the south, and Oswy, the King of Northumbria, had to choose between them. At the Synod of Whitby, in 664, he gave his decision in favour of Rome, and all England became part of the Roman Church, while the Picts and Scots, and the British of Strathclyde, though they ultimately accepted the Roman Easter, did not adopt a diocesan organisation until the twelfth century. This dispute must also have weakened Northumbria, but its fall was due to an unsuccessful attempt to extend its power beyond the Firth of Forth. At Nectansmere (Dunnichen in Forfarshire) Ecgfrith of Northumbria was completely defeated in 685, and Northumbria never recovered from the blow.

Its place was taken in the eighth century by its rival, Mercia, which, under its great monarch Offa (757–796), became the leader of the English peoples; but no single kingdom was strong enough to unite England. The only force which made for unity was the ambition of the sovereign of one or other of the larger kingdoms (Northumbria, Mercia and Wessex). Christianity, which acted as a unifying force within each individual kingdom by supporting the centralisation of power under the monarchy, did not supply any motive towards national unity until, in the face of a great heathen peril, a common religion brought the rival peoples together. English unity—as also the union of the Picts and Scots—was the result of the well-disguised blessing of an invasion and a partial conquest by the heathen Northmen.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NORTHUMBERLAND
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DEIRA
THE ENGLISH MERCIA
DANMERCIA
DANELAW OF GUTHRUM
KING OF LONDON
WALES
WESSEX AND DEPENDENCIES
English Territory
Danish & Norse
Celtic
Edinburgh
York
Lincoln
Chester
London
Berwick
Lindisfarne
Bebbanburh
Melrose
Hexham
Jarrow
Wearmouth
Durham
Carlisle
Ripon
Whitby
Scarborough
Flamborough Hd
Tees
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Manchester
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Chester
Bakewell
Derby
Nottingham
Stamford
Peterborough
Ely
Norwich
Thetford
Ipswich
Colchester
Maldon
Harwich
Gainsborough
Doncaster
Hatfield Chase
Wirral
Bangor
Penmaen
Rhuddlan
Flint
Denbigh
Mold
Ruthin
Oswestry
Shrewsbury
Wroxeter
Tamworth
Lichfield
Warwick
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Gloucester
Monmouth
Caerwent
Caerleon
Cardiff
Llandaff
Carmarthen
Brecon
Bristol
Bristol Channel
Glastonbury
Taunton
Exeter
Crediton
Wareham
Sherborne
Shaftesbury
Wilton
Salisbury
Winchester
Southampton
Chichester
Selsey
Isle of Wight
Portsmouth
Canterbury
Rochester
Dover
Sandwich
Thanet
Lympne
Romney
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Lewes
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Guildford
Reading
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Thetford
Norwich
Yarmouth
Lowestoft
Ipswich
Colchester
Maldon
Harwich
Chelmsford
London
Thames
Medway
Sheppey
Essex
Kent
Sussex
Wessex
Mercia
East Anglia
Wales
Scotland
Ireland
France
North Sea
English Channel
St George's Channel
Irish Sea
Solway Firth
Firth of Forth
Cheviot Hills
Pennines
Chilterns
Cotswolds
Mendips
Quantocks
Exmoor
Dartmoor
Salisbury Plain
Downs
Weald
Fens
Wash
Humber
Severn
Thames
Avon
Trent
Ouse
Tweed
Tyne
Tees
Dee
Mersey
Wye
Usk
Taff
Test
Itchen
Arun
Adur
Ouse
Rother
Stour
Medway
Lea
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Great Ouse
Welland
Witham
Trent
Derwent
Aire
Wharfe
Ribble
Lune
Eden
Solway Moss
Derwent Water
Windermere
Ullswater
Coniston Water
Morecambe Bay
Barrow
Furness
Lancaster
Preston
Blackburn
Bolton
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Stockport
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Evesham
Worcester
Droitwich
Kidderminster
Bridgnorth
Shrewsbury
Oswestry
Wrexham
Ruthin
Denbigh
Rhuddlan
Flint
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Faringdon
Wantage
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Basingstoke
Andover
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Heathfield
Cranbrook
Hawkhurst
Staplehurst
Headcorn
Lenham
Faversham
Whitstable
Canterbury
Margate
Ramsgate
Deal
Sandwich
Dover
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Oakham
Stamford
Peterborough

## II

## THE DANISH AND NORMAN INVASIONS

Danish raids upon England began about 793, but did not become very serious until about fifty years later. By that time the hegemony in England had passed to the southern kingdom of Wessex, whose first great sovereign, Egbert (802–839), left a line of able successors. The reigns of his son Ethelwulf and of three of his grandsons witnessed the height of the Danish peril. The invaders conquered most of Northumbria, a large part of Mercia, and the whole of the smaller kingdom of East Anglia, whose monarch, Edmund, died a martyr for the Christian faith. Wessex itself was attacked and its capital, Winchester, was sacked. The crisis came in the time of Alfred, the fourth grandson of Egbert, who reigned over Wessex. When he succeeded his brother, Ethelred I, in 871, the Danes had conquered most of England and were threatening the existence of Wessex itself. In the summer of 878 he won a victory at the battle of Ethandun (probably Eddington in Wiltshire) and was strong enough to make with Guthrum, the leader of the Danes, the Treaty of Wedmore, which secured the integrity of Wessex but acknowledged Danish sovereignty elsewhere in England. Alfred's kingdom included Wessex, the counties of Sussex and Kent, and part of the Thames Valley, whilst the Danelaw, or Danish England, covered nearly all Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia and Essex. London was at first a Danish town, but it was soon afterwards added to Alfred's dominions.

Alfred lived until 901, and he spent the rest of his life in making Wessex strong enough to save England. He recognised that years of preparation were required for this task and that its accomplishment must be reserved for his successors. They could wield the weapon which he had forged, and their problem would be easier than his, because the Danish raids ceased when the period of Danish settlement began. For him a victory over one band of invaders could only be the prelude to an attack by another band, but when the Danes had settled on the land they did not welcome new-comers, and the immigration came to an end. Alfred gave Wessex a good army and the beginnings of a navy, he reformed the laws, he encouraged learning and the patriotism which was nourished by a knowledge of the national history, and he appealed to the influence of religion to evoke enthusiasm for a Christian England.

His son and successor, Edward the Elder, and his warrior

daughter, Ethelflaed, "the Lady of the Mercians," proved worthy of the confidence which he reposed in them, and in 910 they began the reconquest of the Danelaw. It was not completed until 926, two years after Edward's death, but, if the process was slow, it was sure, and Edward's brother, Athelstan, ruled not merely over Wessex but over all England. The rival royal houses in the other kingdoms had perished in the struggle with the Danes, and all the English peoples acknowledged Wessex as their deliverer from a foreign tyranny. Athelstan was, for a time, the leader of the whole island. The Picts and Scots, under the pressure of a Scandinavian invasion, had united in 844, and their monarch, Constantine III, assisted Athelstan in a great effort against the Danes. He afterwards became jealous of the power of the English and joined the Northmen against his old ally, Athelstan, but was completely defeated in 937.

The reigns of two of Athelstan's successors, Edmund the Magnificent (940–946) and Edgar (959–975), were the peaceful period of Anglo-Saxon history. Edgar was a great sovereign, to whom later generations used to attribute the reform and codification of English law, and he was guided by St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, the earliest of the line of English ecclesiastical statesmen which ended with Cardinal Wolsey. Edgar's younger son, Ethelred II, who came to the throne in 979, was the first weak sovereign among the descendants of Egbert of Wessex, and, like most weak sovereigns, he had to meet a very dangerous situation. He is known as Ethelred the Unready or Ethelred the Redeless, the man of foolish counsel. The Danes renewed their attacks upon England, and Ethelred, like his predecessors a century and a half earlier, at first attempted to "buy them off" by bribing them to go away. They went, but they came back again, and there was a series of invasions until his death in 1016. The most important feature of the history of those troubled years is to be found in the circumstance that London was the leader of English resistance to the Danes and thus came to replace Winchester as the centre of English feeling. The place held by the city in the national effort was one of the reasons why London ultimately became the capital of England. When Ethelred died there was a chance of a successful English resistance under his heroic son, Edmund Ironside, but Edmund died in the same year, and the Danish conqueror, Canute, ascended the English throne. Although the ruler of Denmark and of a great Northern Empire, Canute wished to govern England as an English sovereign.

He made London his home, he followed English customs, recognised the English laws, and surrounded himself with English advisers. He married the young widow of Ethelred, a Norman princess named Emma, who has the unique distinction of having been the wife and the widow of two successive English monarchs. Emma had two sons by her first marriage, Edward and Alfred, and the boys were educated among their mother's Norman kinsfolk. When Canute died, in 1035, the throne was disputed between Hardicanute, his son by Emma, and Harold Harefoot, a child of a previous marriage. Five years later the rivals were both dead, and the old English line was restored in the person of Edward, the son of Ethelred and Emma.

The reign of Canute, an Anglicised Dane, forms a strange contrast to that of Edward, a Normanised Englishman. The latter is known to history as Edward the Confessor, not because he had defied any form of persecution but because of a belief that, though married, he lived a virgin life, and also out of respect for his saintly character. He is the " holy king " of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, the friend who enabled Malcolm to regain his heritage.

Scotland had, by this time, become a united country. The district between the Tweed and the Firth of Forth, which for five centuries had been part of English Northumbria, was conquered in 1018 by Malcolm II, King of Scots and Picts, and Malcolm's grandson and successor, Duncan, was also the ruler of the British of Strathclyde. Historical Scotland was formed by the addition of Strathclyde and Lothian to the old Scotland, the country beyond the " Scottish sea," as the Firth of Forth used to be called. Duncan did not reign long over it, for he was slain in a civil war by Macbeth, who was one of his generals. Macbeth retained the throne for seventeen years, largely because he made an alliance with the Scandinavians who held possession of the Hebrides and of the modern counties of Caithness and Sutherland. In 1057 Edward the Confessor gave military assistance to Duncan's son, Malcolm, and the latter defeated and slew the usurper.

This Scottish intervention is the only part of Edward's foreign policy that maintained the traditions of his predecessors. Educated in Normandy, he loved Norman ways and customs, filled his court with Norman favourites and the great positions in the Church with Norman ecclesiastics, and, from an early period in his reign, it was his aim to secure the succession to his throne for his cousin, William, Duke of Normandy. The natural heirs were his nephews, Edmund and Edward, the sons of his

half-brother, Edmund Ironside. By the later theory of primogeniture, the claim of Edmund, the elder of his two nephews, as the direct male representative of Ethelred II was better than that of the King himself. The rule which, since the thirteenth century, has governed the succession to the Crown had not yet been established, but the circumstance that Edmund and Edward were descended from the first marriage of Ethelred may account for the jealousy which the Confessor showed of his English kinsmen. They lived in exile in Hungary, and it was not until 1057 that Edward, after the death of his brother Edmund, was allowed to enter England. He died immediately after his arrival in London, without having been received by the King, but his children, Edgar, known as the Atheling or prince, and Margaret, afterwards the wife of Malcolm III of Scotland, were permitted to reside in England. Besides these heirs of the old royal line, there was another possible English claimant to the succession. Godwin, one of the Englishmen who had been promoted by Canute, held the great earldom of Wessex and was the most powerful subject in the land. His daughter was Edward's wife, but the King did not like his father-in-law and blamed him for the death of his brother, Alfred, who had been murdered in the course of an attempt to seize the crown after Canute's death.

The reign of Edward the Confessor was a conflict between a Norman party, whose leader was the King, and an English party under Godwin and his son, Harold. In 1051 Edward found himself strong enough to use a pretext for banishing Godwin from England, but the earl returned in the following year and obtained so much support that Edward was forced to receive him and to act by his advice. The Queen, who had been sent to a nunnery when her father was exiled, returned to the Court, and there was an English reaction, in the course of which many Normans—among them the Archbishop of Canterbury—were driven out and their places given to Englishmen. Godwin died in 1053, but Harold succeeded to his dignities and authority, and other English earldoms came into the possession of the family of Godwin. In his ambition to succeed the childless King, Harold had the sympathy of the English, but England was not yet a really united country ; there was no cohesion between the great earldoms into which it was divided, nor was there, except at intervals, an adequate central power. Godwin and Harold, in fact, were compelled to oppose a centralisation of power in the hands of the monarchy, because it would have been used in favour of the Normans ; and the lack of centralisation

was one of the reasons why Harold was defeated when the final struggle came.

Persistent bad fortune pursued the unfortunate Harold. During Godwin's exile, William of Normandy had paid a visit to the Confessor and had received a promise of the succession. Thirteen years later, in 1064, Harold was wrecked on the coast of Normandy, and the Duke would not let him go until he had taken a solemn oath to support his claim to the English throne. The Confessor died in the beginning of 1066, and the Witan, or Great Council of the realm, chose Harold as their King. He was preparing to meet the coming Norman invasion when events in the north of England compelled him to undertake another expedition. His brother, Tostig, who had been Earl of Northumbria and had been driven out by the people he ruled, made an alliance with the Danes and, supported by a Danish army, he invaded Northumbria and defeated the two northern earls, Edwin and Morcar. Harold, whose force had already been reduced by the necessity of disbanding men to reap the harvest, defeated the invaders at Stamford Bridge, in Yorkshire, on September 25. Duke William was watching his opportunity; the English fleet, which had guarded the Channel through the summer, had been sent to London to refit; and the Normans made an unopposed landing at Pevensey on September 28. Harold's tired army made a rapid southward march, and he left London on October 11 to do battle with the invaders. Three days later he and his two brothers fell on Senlac Hill, about eight miles from the town of Hastings, where the English army was beaten by William's troops. The battle of Hastings closed a definite chapter of English history.

The importance of this chapter in the general story has been variously estimated. The school of historians which was dominant in the latter half of the nineteenth century was inclined to minimise the effect of the Norman Conquest and to lay stress upon the Teutonic heritage of the English people. John Richard Green regarded the settlement of the Anglo-Saxons as "nothing less than a transfer of English society in its fullest form to the shores of Britain. It was England that settled down on British soil, England with its own language, its own laws, its complete social fabric, its system of village life and village culture, its principle of kinship, its principle of representation." Everything, he believed, "that was to make Englishmen what they are" came to England with the Anglo-Saxon conquest. So extreme a view ignores both the whole of later English history and the influence which Roman Britain must have exercised

upon the invaders, and the assertion that the principle of representation, for example, was introduced by the Anglo-Saxons has not survived subsequent historical investigation.

A reaction against the Teutonic theory of the exclusive origin of English civilisation produced a tendency to regard the Norman Conquest as the real beginning of English history and to treat the Anglo-Saxon period as semi-barbaric. This attitude was encouraged by a belief that the immediate result of the coming of the Normans was a reconstruction of the whole organisation in Church and State and the introduction of the science of architecture as illustrated by the great Norman castles. But we now know that what William the Conqueror did was not to introduce a new social organisation but to develop and modify a system which he found in his new kingdom, and that the great Norman castles did not date from his reign.

Anglo-Saxon England had developed its own institutions, its own art, and its own learning. It had not yet achieved a real national unity, but the central power had been strong under strong kings, and, from what we know of the personality of Harold, we are justified in arguing that England lost, as well as gained, a great King at Hastings. The Norman Conquest arrested the natural development of the country and introduced new men, new manners, and a new foreign policy. That policy was based upon a Continental dominion, which proved no blessing to the English nation. On the whole, it may be said that, while the positive gain which accrued from the Norman Conquest is known and calculable, there is evidence that something was lost by the disappearance of things that had been distinctively English. The battle of Hastings is certainly a turning-point which it is impossible to ignore. All that has gone "to make Englishmen what they are" cannot be traced to Anglo-Saxon England, but it is equally unhistorical to ignore the heritage from the days before the Norman Conquest. That great event modified, but it did not obliterate, the current of early English history.

## III

## THE MAKING OF ENGLAND

### (1066–1296)

The history of England and Scotland alike during the centuries which succeeded the Norman Conquest of England is a record of the creation of a central power, wielded by a strong

monarchy. In each country great results had been attained by the end of the thirteenth century, and in each the development along this line subsequently received a severe check. In Scotland the events of the War of Independence produced conditions which permanently weakened the Crown until the accession of James VI to the English throne in 1603. In England the long French war, and the ultimate failure of the attempt to conquer France, led to a civil strife in which the Crown became dependent upon baronial rivalries; but the weakness of the central power was neither so marked nor so continuous as in Scotland, and the monarchy recovered its authority a century earlier, and was strengthened, while the Scottish Crown was weakened, by the Reformation struggle. In this and the next chapter we propose to trace the steps by which each of the two countries became an organised kingdom between the reigns of William I and Edward I in England and between the reigns of Malcolm III and Alexander III in Scotland.

The victory of William the Norman in 1066 is explained by lack of unity and organisation in the land which he conquered. Anglo-Saxon England—that is the mixed population of Britons, Angles, Saxons and Danes who inhabited Southern Britain in the eleventh century—had never been incorporated into a unified state under a vigorous central government. Provincial feeling was strong and had been encouraged by the division of the country into Great Earldoms, and, in the reign of Edward the Confessor, the last of the old English monarchs, there was, as we have seen, a political struggle between the King, who had been educated in Normandy, and wished to introduce Norman customs and to rule through Norman ministers, and an English national party led by Godwin, Earl of Wessex, and his son and successor, Harold, who was elected to the throne on the death of the Confessor. Harold was vanquished at Hastings because his army had been engaged in repelling a Scandinavian invasion of the North of England under the leadership of his own treacherous brother, and because the men of the North, whom he had saved, did not give him the support which he had earned. The single battle of Hastings decided the whole issue because, after Harold's death, the English had no leader and no cohesion. Provincial feeling was strong enough to produce a sporadic resistance which gave William considerable trouble but never endangered his throne.

The danger of an English rebellion was over a few years after the battle of Hastings, and the most serious menace to the royal

power soon came from William's own Norman followers. The Conqueror had to reward the men who had fought for him with grants of land in England, and, although he divided up the land as different districts passed, by degrees, into his power and thus created no great earldoms (except on the borders of Wales and Scotland), yet some of his more important followers quickly acquired large, if scattered, territories, which were afterwards consolidated by inter-marriages and successions. William himself, as Duke of Normandy, ruled a great French province without any regard to the claim of the French King to overlordship, whilst the Norman barons in England wished to be petty kings on their own possessions, and regarded all their tenants as men who owed fealty and obedience to themselves alone and not to the Crown. The barons were not mere landlords ; those who held land from them owed not only money payments, but duties and services, varying with the rank of the tenant ; the greater tenants owed military service, and the lesser were bound to make roads and to give their labour in seed-time and harvest. Further, the barons had the right of doing justice on their own lands, and often possessed the power of inflicting capital punishment. The main interest of English history lies in the continuous and, ultimately, successful struggle of the Crown to make the royal authority supreme throughout the whole country. The conflict was long continued, and successive kings, from William I to Henry II, had to face many rebellions.

The first rebellion of the Norman nobles against the royal authority took place in 1074, and the last exactly a century later. Throughout this period of a hundred years the discontented barons were aided by a series of disputes in the Royal Family, and they also received direct or indirect assistance from the French Kings. Even in the reign of William I (1066–1087) there were not only rebellions in England but also a rebellion in Normandy, raised by the Conqueror's eldest son, Robert, and the King's attention was further diverted from England by a war with Philip I of France, in the course of which he died at Mantes ; his death was the result of a fall from his horse. William's successor in England was his second son, William II (1087–1100), known as the Red King ; the eldest son, Robert, became Duke of Normandy. The rule of succession by strict primogeniture had not yet been established, but the dubiety of William's title gave the Anglo-Norman barons an excuse for rebelling. Their great effort was made in 1088, and, although it failed, William did not have peace in England until 1096, when Robert of

Normandy went on the First Crusade, and pledged his duchy to William in order to obtain money for this purpose. The Red King was not only a strong monarch, but was also a tyrant, and it is uncertain whether his death in the New Forest in August 1100 was accidental or an act of revenge.

Robert of Normandy, who had returned safely from the Holy Land, disputed the English succession with his younger brother, Henry I (1100–1135), and actually invaded England, but without result, and Henry suppressed Robert's most powerful English supporter, Robert of Bellême, Earl of Shrewsbury. Ultimately Henry defeated and captured Robert of Normandy at Tenchebrai in 1106, an English victory on Norman soil which was regarded as wiping out the stain of the defeat of Hastings; but, later on, Louis VI of France supported Robert's son, William the Clito, in an attempt to regain his father's heritage of Normandy, and it was not until after William Clito's death in 1128 that Henry obtained undisputed possession of the duchy.

In spite of almost continuous trouble in Normandy, Henry I succeeded in keeping the Anglo-Norman barons in check, partly through the support of the English people, who looked to the Crown for protection from the barons and were pleased by Henry's marriage with a Scottish princess, whose mother belonged to the old English Royal House. But, after Henry's death, a new opportunity was afforded to the barons by a disputed succession which had more serious results than the old quarrel between Robert of Normandy and his brothers, William and Henry. The only son of Henry had been drowned in the wreck of the "White Ship," and his successor was his nephew, Stephen (1135-1154). Stephen's claim was soon challenged by Henry's daughter Matilda, a lady who had been the wife of the Emperor Henry V, and, after his death, had married Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, the representative of a great French ruling house which had been the hereditary enemy of the Dukes of Normandy. From 1139 to 1148 civil war raged between Stephen and Matilda, and the strong central government which had been created by the three Norman kings ceased to exist. After Matilda gave up the struggle, efforts were made by her son, Henry, who, in 1153, made an agreement with Stephen by which he was to succeed to the throne on Stephen's death, an event which occurred in the following year.

Henry Fitz-Empress, the son of Matilda and Geoffrey of Anjou, reigned for thirty-five years (1154–1189), in the course of which he succeeded in restoring and increasing the authority

of the Crown. Unfortunately, his attention was distracted by the possession not merely of Normandy but of a vast territory in France. He inherited from his father Anjou, Maine and Touraine; he married Eleanor of Aquitaine, the heiress of the provinces of Poitou, Guyenne, Gascony, Saintonge and Limousin; and, later on, he married his son, Geoffrey, to Constance, the heiress of Brittany. The possession by the English King of a territory which extended from the English Channel to the Pyrenees made Louis VII and, afterwards, Philip II (Philip Augustus) of France the bitter enemies of the Angevin Empire, and the English barons, who resented the re-establishment of internal order, made, in 1174, their final effort to destroy the central power. This last great rebellion was the result of a combination of Henry's enemies, including three of the King's own sons, many powerful English barons, William the Lion of Scotland, Louis VII of France and the Count of Flanders. Henry defeated all his enemies and captured the King of Scots, and his victory marks the end of the long struggle of the barons to make themselves independent of the central power.

This victory of unity over anarchy was only partially achieved on the battlefield, for the great kings, William I, Henry I and Henry II, knew how to use other instruments than the sword. They were engaged in building up a great national law and in attempting to secure the recognition of this law throughout the kingdom. The principle they sought to enforce was that the government and administration of the country should be based upon the allegiance owed by every subject to the sovereign and not upon a man's relationship (as owner, tenant or serf) to the land on which he lived. Centuries had to elapse before the complete triumph of this principle, but its germ may be traced to the reign of William I, who, in 1086, when a large number of the land-holders of England were summoned to Salisbury to provide against a Danish invasion, insisted that the King was every man's lord, and that each man owed obligations and duties to the King, no matter from whom he might hold his land; the oath which a tenant took to his landlord was not to absolve him from his responsibilities as a subject of the realm. The famous "Domesday Book," a compilation of statistics of the land tenures and the agriculture and live-stock of England, produced in accordance with William's commands, was an attempt to secure that each portion of land should pay its share of the national taxation. Henry I improved and extended the administration of justice in the King's courts. The Conqueror had preserved the Anglo-Saxon institution of the county court and had appointed

sheriffs to preside over these assemblies. But the sheriffs were great local magnates, on whose loyalty and discretion the King could not rely, and Henry I began the system of sending out itinerant justices, or assize judges, who administered the law in accordance with principles laid down by the central government.

The sphere of national justice was, at first, very limited, for the kings could not withdraw the privilege of holding baronial courts; but Henry II was strong enough to restrict these privileges and gave royal officers authority to enter baronial estates to search for criminals and accused persons. He also laid the foundations of the system of trial by jury, although, at first, the jury did not try a case, but gave information upon oath, and the judges based their decisions upon the statements of the juries. In civil cases the use of a jury superseded the custom of Trial by Battle, which had been introduced by the Normans; in cases of dispute between a baron and a farmer this institution worked very unfairly, for the farmer had to fight a trained man-at-arms. In criminal cases Henry established the Grand Jury or jury of presentment, who presented men for trial by the King's judges; in the cases of notorious bad characters such presentment was accepted as equivalent to conviction, and the accused persons did not have the chance of escape afforded by the ancient method of trial by the ordeal of burning iron, a form of judicial procedure which was gradually falling into disuse. Henry also established a central Court of Justice, which developed into the two historical courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, and made provision for the hearing of appeals by the King and a select body of councillors. His greatest work was the reform and, in large measure, the creation of a system of justice and police which outlasted mediaeval times and is the foundation of our modern system.

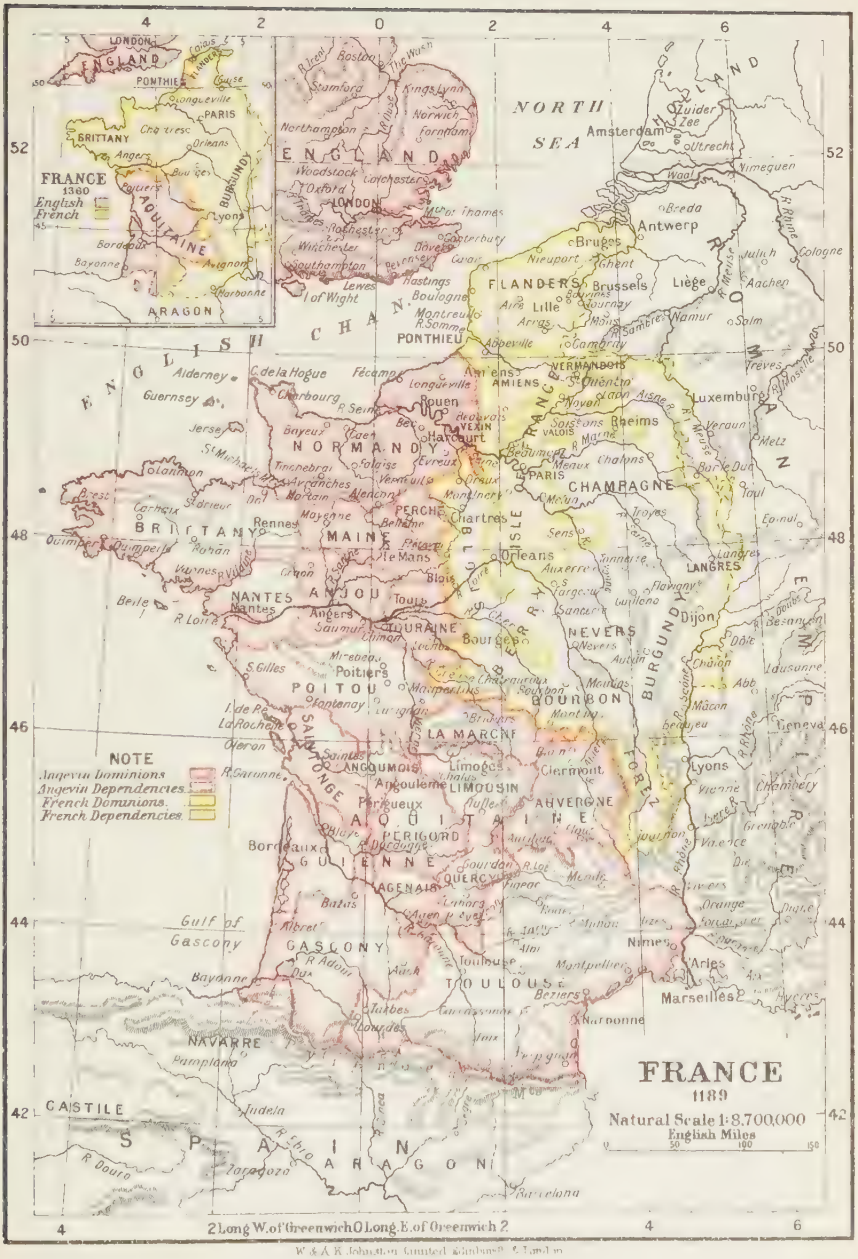
In the attempt to establish a great national system of justice, Henry came into conflict not only with the barons but also with the Church, which was a very powerful political force. The Papacy had blessed the adventure of William the Conqueror, and the substitution of a Norman for an English Archbishop of Canterbury had brought the Church in England into closer contact with Rome. William II and Henry I, successively, had relied upon the support of the Church when they laid claim to the succession to the throne. Each of them had, subsequently, a dispute with St. Anselm, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 1093; the Red King over financial questions and because St. Anselm disapproved of his evil life, and Henry I

over the Investiture controversy which was distracting Europe at the time. A compromise made in 1107, by which bishops were to be invested with their symbols of office by ecclesiastical authority and were to do homage to the King for the temporal possessions of their sees, restored the good relations between Church and Crown, and the influence of the Church was undiminished when Henry I died.

Stephen owed his original success in securing the throne to ecclesiastical support, and it was not until he made the mistake of quarrelling with the Church that the supporters of Matilda made headway against him. His judicial reforms brought Henry II into acute conflict with the Church. Since the reign of William I clerks had been tried in special Church courts, which were forbidden by ecclesiastical law to pronounce a sentence involving the shedding of blood or the taking of life, and this privilege extended, not merely to men in holy orders, but also to large numbers of men who, for one reason or another, had been allowed to assume the tonsure. Henry wished that clerks who had been found guilty of serious crimes in ecclesiastical courts, and had been deposed from their orders, should be taken to the royal court to be sentenced to the ordinary penalties inflicted for such offences, and a demand to this effect brought him into a violent quarrel with his old friend, Thomas à Becket, who had been made Archbishop of Canterbury by Henry's own desire. The dispute led, in 1170, to the murder of Becket in his own cathedral by some of Henry's attendants, and the horror created by the crime forced Henry to abandon this and some other of his ecclesiastical reforms.

Henry II was unfortunate enough to have disloyal sons, and he died, in 1189, when he was engaged in an attempt to repress a rebellion raised in France by his sons, Richard and John, in alliance with Philip II. These two sons successively filled the throne. Richard I (1189–1199) has a very small place in English history; almost the whole of his short reign was spent in Crusading adventures and in defending his French dominions against his old ally, Philip II. The reign of John (1199–1216) was memorable in many ways. Shakespeare regarded the quarrel with Pope Innocent III and John's acceptance of the overlordship of England as the central incident of the reign, and this view was natural in the patriotic feeling of the time of Queen Elizabeth. To-day we are accustomed to lay greater stress upon the loss of Normandy and the issue of the Great Charter.

The loss of Normandy had a beneficial effect upon England.


FRANCE
1189
Natural Scale 1:8,700,000
English Miles
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NOTE
Angevin Dominions
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French Dominions
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FRANCE
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NORTH SEA
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ENGLAND
FLANDERS
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
MAINE
ANJOU
TOURAINE
POITOU
GUIENNE
GASCONY
AQUITAINE
AUVERGNE
LIMOUSIN
PERIGORD
ANGOUMOIS
LA MARCHE
BOURBON
NEVERS
CHAMPAGNE
BURGUNDY
LANGRES
TOULOUSE
NAVARRE
CASTILE
ARAGON
SPAIN
Gulf of Gascony
2 Long W. of Greenwich 0 Long E. of Greenwich 2
W. & A. K. Johnston Limited Edinburgh & London

Since the Norman Conquest the possession of Normandy, or the assertion of claims upon Normandy, by successive English sovereigns had hampered the kings in their effort to increase the royal power in England. Normandy had been a nursery of rebellion, and the interests of the barons, equally with those of the King, had been divided between English and Norman possessions. After John pusillanimously allowed Philip II to seize Normandy in 1204, the attention of kings and barons alike was concentrated upon England, for the remaining possessions of the English kings in the south of France were far away, and were merely a territory belonging to the Crown, not, like Normandy, a land in which English subjects held large possessions. With Normandy the French recovered Anjou, Maine and Touraine, and the lands belonging to English barons were forfeited. At home the old distinction between Norman and English had died out through the inter-marriage of the two races. The result was that there grew up, in the course of the thirteenth century, a strong national feeling in England and an intolerance of foreigners. The Jews, who had always been unpopular as usurers, were hated so much that, ultimately, Edward I had to expel them from England, to which they did not return until the time of Oliver Cromwell. Foreign priests and monks were also detested in the thirteenth century, as also were foreign favourites of the kings.

The employment of foreign favourites was one of the reasons which brought about the rebellion rendered memorable by Magna Carta. That rebellion differed essentially from previous baronial risings against the monarchy. The barons in the time of Stephen had wished to replace a centralised government by disunion, and organisation by anarchy; their successors in the days of John were in no sense democrats, and they claimed for themselves the privileges of an oligarchy; but their aim was to prevent the tyrannical misuse of the powers of the centralised government, not to destroy it. A strong monarchy was essential if the English people were to attain national unity, but if the monarchy had become a tyranny, it would sooner or later have provoked a rebellion sufficiently strong to bring about its fall. The rebellion of 1215, in which the barons forced John to affix the royal seal to the Great Charter of Liberties, really strengthened the Crown by limiting the use of its powers. John was forced to promise that he would not impose new taxes without the consent of a Great Council composed of the bishops, barons and great men of the realm, and that he would not imprison his subjects illegally. He attempted to repudiate the

Charter immediately after assenting to it, and there was another rebellion, in the course of which John died, leaving as his heir a small son, Henry.

In the long reign of Henry III (1216–1272), the barons again found it necessary to limit the power of the Crown. There were good and wise regents during the King's minority, but when he came of age he began to rule by means of foreign favourites who came from his dominions in the south of France. The barons from time to time compelled him to send away the foreigners, but he always recalled them until, at last, in 1258, a great leader arose in the person of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester (himself a foreigner by blood). Earl Simon defeated Henry at Lewes in 1264 and governed England for a year, in the course of which he summoned a meeting of a Great Council or Parliament which is memorable in the history of the constitution. Up to this time the Great Council had been composed only of the great landowners, lay and clerical; for it must be remembered that a large proportion of the soil was in the hands of bishops and of religious houses. Suggestions had already been made for the widening of the membership of the Council by the addition of the representatives of smaller land-holders, but de Montfort went beyond this and, in 1265, summoned to a Parliament composed of his own supporters, representatives not only of land-holders in the counties but also of the burgesses in some of the larger towns. His rule was brief, for in August 1265 he fell in the battle of Evesham, in which his army was defeated by Prince Edward, the heir of Henry III; but his work survived him.

When Edward I (1272–1307) succeeded his father, he adopted the device of his great opponent, and in 1275 he summoned a Parliament which included burgesses and county members, and before the end of his reign their inclusion in the Great Council had become the custom of the constitution. A Parliament which met in 1296 is known traditionally as the Model Parliament; it included what were afterwards known as the Three Estates of the realm—Lords Spiritual with representatives of the lower clergy, Lords Temporal, and Commons representing both counties and boroughs. The lower clergy were subsequently successful in evading the obligation to attend Parliament and met by themselves in Convocation; their secession led ultimately to the combination of Lords Spiritual and Temporal in the House of Lords and of knights of the shires and burgesses in the House of Commons.

When the Commons were first represented in the Great

Council, they were regarded as supporters of the Crown against the nobility, and the powers of the English monarchy consequently reached their highest in the reign of Edward I. That great king was famous as a law-giver; he extended the sphere of the national law, improved its administration, and introduced important principles which are still embodied in our legal system. He insisted upon the principle of allegiance as the basis of government; before his time the great men of the realm attended the Great Council as a right belonging to them as landowners or tenants-in-chief of the King, but since his reign their attendance has been a duty incumbent upon them by the faith and obedience which they owe to the Crown. He succeeded, when Henry II had failed, in preventing encroachments by the Church courts upon the sphere of national justice, and made the clergy pay their share of the national taxation. He secured that every subject of the realm should take his part in the work of administration; the common people had to pay taxes, elect representatives, serve on juries, join in the pursuit of criminals, watch the gates of the towns in which they lived, and possess, and learn to use, arms for the defence of the realm. England, thus united and organised, governed by an able and ambitious monarch and inspired by a strong national feeling, entered upon a new phase of its history—a determined attempt to extend English authority beyond the limits of the kingdom. Such an effort had already been made in Ireland, where Dublin had been the centre of an English "Pale" or district since the reign of Henry II, and on the borders of Wales; but Edward I made it his aim to annex both Wales and Scotland.

## IV

### THE MAKING OF SCOTLAND

### (1058–1290)

In the course of the two centuries which followed the Norman Conquest, Scotland had become a united kingdom organised on principles similar to those introduced by William I and his successors in England. At the date of the battle of Hastings a powerful monarch, Malcolm III, known as Canmore (Bighead), was ruling over the Picts and Scots who lived north of Forth and Clyde, the British of Strathclyde and the Angles of Lothian. The kingdom of Alban had been formed in the middle of the

ninth century by the union of the Picts and Scots, but it was not until the first quarter of the eleventh century that Lothian passed by conquest, and Strathclyde by inheritance, to the ruler of Alban. After the Norman conquest of England a Saxon princess, Margaret, fled to Scotland and married Malcolm Canmore. This event proved to be the beginning of a vast change in political, ecclesiastical and social conditions in Scotland. The Celtic kingdom of Malcolm III was gradually Anglicised or Anglo-Normanised in speech, manners and institutions. Queen Margaret herself brought the Scottish Church into much closer relationship with the Papacy, and she began to introduce English ecclesiastics. Her sons, whom she called by English names, were in close association with England, especially after the marriage of Henry I to a daughter of Malcolm and Margaret, and they carried on the traditions created by their mother.

The long reigns of David I (1124–1153) and his grandson William the Lion (1165–1214) saw profound changes in the northern kingdom. David I spent some years of his youth at the court of his brother-in-law, Henry I, and made a number of intimate friends among the young English nobles, many of whom followed him to Scotland and were given large grants of land. In this way such Anglo-Norman families as the Bruces, the Balliols, and the Fitz Alans (subsequently the Royal Stewarts) came to be great Scottish landowners. The Court used the English language and adopted English customs. The system of land-tenure in the Lowlands became feudal. The Church was reorganised by the establishment of dioceses and enriched by the creation of religious houses ; the new ecclesiastical magnates, bishops, abbots and monks were, for the most part, Englishmen, and they introduced English ways and customs into the wide lands which belonged to the bishopries and the monasteries. The law of Scotland was based upon English models.

This persistent policy of Anglicisation was not accepted by the Scottish people without opposition, and the kings had to face a long series of rebellions, especially in the provinces of Moray and Galloway. But they succeeded in creating an efficient central power, and in the reigns of Alexander II (1214–1249) and Alexander III (1249–1286), the royal authority was recognised even in the Highlands. The Hebrides had long been a Norwegian possession, but in the reign of Alexander III they were recovered by the Scots. Scotland was contented and prosperous when Alexander III died in 1286, leaving as his heiress a baby grand-daughter, whose father was Eric, King of

Norway. On the accession of the infant "Maid of Norway," Edward I of England suggested a marriage between the child and his own son, afterwards Edward II. The proposal was welcomed by the Scots, for the two kingdoms had been at peace for many years, and there were strong commercial ties between the countries. From time to time English monarchs had claimed the overlordship of Scotland, and, when William the Lion aided the English rebels against Henry II and was captured, he was made to acknowledge this claim in the Treaty of Falaise (1174).

But fifteen years later, when Richard I came to the English throne, he made a bargain with William the Lion by which the Treaty of Falaise was annulled and Scotland regained her freedom. Since that date no dispute had occurred on this subject, although the English kings still maintained, and the Scottish kings denied, the existence of old claims to some undefined authority over Scotland. When Alexander III succeeded his father, he was a mere child, and, as a boy, he was married to the daughter of Henry III of England; but Henry made no attempt to exercise, during the minority, the authority which would have been both his right and his duty if he had really been overlord. Similarly, in the minority of the Maid of Norway, Edward I made no claim to the privileges of an overlord, and the treaty of marriage was made between two independent countries. The guardians who represented the infant Queen were glad to have the support of the powerful King of England, for there were two great Scottish families, the Bruces and the Balliols, both related to the Royal House, who might attempt to secure the throne. The marriage treaty, made at Birgham in July 1290, was, however, not destined to be fulfilled, for in the following September the Maid of Norway died on her voyage to Scotland.

## V

### THE FIRST THREE EDWARDS

The death of the child queen of Scotland was a turning-point in the history of this island. Edward I, disappointed by the event which had put an end to his wise and statesmanlike design, determined to obtain, in some other way, the result which he desired. His new policy was one of force; it created a bitter enmity between the two hitherto friendly kingdoms of

England and Scotland and made the Scots the allies of the French in the coming struggle between England and France. Taking advantage of the rivalry between the Bruces and the Balliols, Edward announced that, as Lord Paramount of Scotland, he claimed the right of adjudicating upon the claims to the succession. All the claimants acknowledged his authority, and Edward, acting upon principles which soon afterwards came to be recognised, awarded the crown to John Balliol in 1292. For four years Balliol ruled as a vassal king, but his overlord made his position ignominious and humiliating, and in 1296 he entered into a league with Edward's enemy, Philip IV of France, and defied his superior.

This was the beginning of the Franco-Scottish League, but for many years the French gave little assistance to Scotland. Edward easily defeated Balliol and placed Scotland under a military government; his campaign of 1296 was disgraced by the cruelty of his sack of the prosperous mercantile town of Berwick-on-Tweed, where he first met resistance. Abandoning the policy of ruling through a sub-king, he declared that Scotland was a forfeited fief which had passed to the overlord by the rebellion of his vassal, and resolved upon annexing it to the Crown of England, as, some years earlier, he had annexed the Principality of Wales.

The failure of Scottish resistance in 1296 had largely been due to the circumstance that the natural leaders of the Scottish people were Anglo-Norman barons who saw little objection to a union between Scotland and England, even though it involved a conquest of Scotland. But the middle and the lower classes of the Scots soon found a leader in a country gentleman, Sir William Wallace, who won a battle at Stirling Bridge in the summer of 1297, and ruled Scotland until, in the following year, he was defeated by Edward I at Falkirk. The English victory at Falkirk did not put an end to Scottish resistance, which went on until 1304, when Edward at last seemed to have completed his conquest. In 1305 he captured Wallace and put him to a traitor's death: "In the sight of the unwise he seemed to die, but his name liveth for evermore."

Wallace found a successor in an Anglo-Norman baron, Robert Bruce, whose grandfather had been one of the claimants to the throne in 1290. The beginning of Bruce's campaign was unfortunate. In February 1306 he arranged a meeting with a rival competitor, John Comyn, a nephew of Balliol, who had succeeded to the Balliol claims. The two men met in a church at Dumfries, probably to attempt an adjustment of their con-

flicting claims, and in the course of a vehement dispute, Comyn was slain by Bruce, who thus added sacrilege to his crime. This event made it necessary for Bruce to organise an open resistance to English rule, and in March he was crowned King of Scots. In June he was defeated by an English general, and for a year he was a hunted fugitive; in May 1307, however, he won his first victory at Loudoun Hill in Ayrshire.

The appearance of Bruce had already brought Edward I to the north of England, but he was not fated to reconquer Scotland, for he died near Carlisle in July 1307. His death deprived the English of any chance of success, for the new King, Edward II (1307–1327), entered upon perhaps the most ignominious reign in English history.

The attempt to conquer Scotland was abandoned, and King Robert was left to defeat his Scottish enemies, the adherents of the families of Balliol and Comyn, and to capture, one by one, the Scottish strongholds which were in the hands of the English. Meanwhile Edward, by his reliance upon foreign favourites, provoked a rebellion, as John and Henry III had done before him. The governing power passed for some years into the hands of a committee of great barons, known as the Lords Ordainers, who were led by the King's cousin, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster. In 1314 Edward made an effort to restore his personal influence by a military triumph, and led a great army to Scotland to relieve Stirling Castle, almost the only Scottish fortress held by an English garrison. At the battle of Bannockburn, fought on Midsummer Day, King Robert inflicted upon Edward's force a defeat more complete than any English army had ever known, and the English King fled from the rout of his great host.

The battle of Bannockburn secured the freedom of Scotland, although Edward II never admitted his failure and consistently declined to make a treaty on the only terms which the Scottish monarch could accept. The war was, therefore, prolonged during the thirteen remaining years of Edward's reign, and the Scots not only made frequent invasions of the north of England, but also gave help to the Irish in an unsuccessful attempt to throw off the English yoke. At home Edward's disputes with his barons continued, and in 1322, at the battle of Boroughbridge, he suppressed the Lords Ordainers and captured Lancaster, whom he put to death. He followed his old policy of ruling through favourites, and he ultimately fell a victim to a conspiracy between his wife, Isabella of France, and her paramour. He had failed in Scotland and, in his last years, he had

also lost some of his French dominions ; he was unpopular in England and nobody thought it worth while to try to save him from the domestic intrigue which resulted in his deposition and murder.

The regents for the young Edward III (1327–1377) made with the Scots, in 1328, the Treaty of Northampton, by which England unreservedly acknowledged the freedom and independence of Scotland. But the Treaty of Northampton marks only a stage in, not the end of, the Anglo-Scottish war which had lasted without interruption since 1296. When Edward III began to rule in person, he determined to restore the English dominion in Scotland. The great King Robert had died in 1329, and his successor, David II, was a child, whose guardians were ruling over a country still divided by the blood feud created by the murder of John Comyn. Edward reverted to his grandfather's policy of ruling through a vassal king, and tried to place on the Scottish throne Edward Balliol, a son of John Balliol. He failed to establish a vassal kingdom, but he seized a large portion of Scottish territory, and he riveted the bonds which united Scotland with France. The French had given no help to Wallace or Bruce, but they came to the aid of the regents for the young David II. From this date a French alliance was the fixed principle of Scottish foreign policy, and the English influences which had been so potent in Scotland before the War of Independence were replaced by French ones.

The aid given by France to Scotland was one of the causes which led the ambitious and warlike Edward III to attempt the conquest of France. There were other causes of dispute, for the English King still held the old Gascon inheritance of Eleanor, the wife of Henry II, and there could be no permanent peace while a great French province was in the possession of the English. Edward III and the French King, Philip VI, also took different sides in a quarrel between the Count of Flanders and his subjects, and the close commercial relations between England and Flanders rendered it essential to maintain English influence in that troubled country. To these serious causes of disagreement Edward added a claim to the throne of France. His mother, Queen Isabella, was a sister of Charles IV of France, who had died in 1328, and had been succeeded by his cousin, Philip VI. Philip's succession was in accordance with the French law, for the French recognised only male heirs to the throne ; but Edward argued that, though his mother could not herself become sovereign of France, she could transmit the inheritance to her son.

In 1339 Edward III invaded France in pursuance of his claim to the throne, and so began what is known as the Hundred Years' War. The struggle lasted from 1339 to 1453, but it was not continuous during that long period. In the time of Edward III the English won some great victories and reduced great provinces in the north of France, but they never came near to conquering the country. Edward himself won a brilliant victory over a great French army at Crécy in August 1346, a triumph of the English archers ; but his force was too small to undertake a march on Paris, and he had to be content with besieging Calais, which he took in the following year. The effort exhausted Edward's resources, and his victory was followed by the ravages of the plague known as the Black Death. It was not until 1355 that he made another serious effort to conquer France, the campaign being rendered memorable by a great victory won at Poitiers by the Black Prince, Edward's eldest son. The French King, John II, was captured at Poitiers, and was a fellow-prisoner in London with David II of Scotland.

The Scots, true to the French alliance, had invaded England in the year of Crécy, but they had been defeated at Neville's Cross, near Durham, and their King remained in captivity in England for many years. But the military glories of the reign of Edward III were not crowned by a realisation of the King's ambition, and he had to be content with less than the conquest of France. The captive King John was willing to cede to the English the old French dominions of Henry II, but his people were not prepared for so great a sacrifice, and in 1360 Edward accepted the terms of the Treaty of Bretigny, by which the English continued to hold the southern province of Aquitaine, but surrendered the northern provinces of Normandy and Anjou, retaining only the county of Ponthieu and the district round Calais.[1]

This arrangement was only temporary, for the war broke out again in 1367. Fortune now deserted the English, who embroiled themselves in a civil conflict in the Spanish kingdom of Castile, and had also to meet a rebellion in Gascony. The difficulties of the English task were largely increased by a naval defeat. In 1340 they had beaten the French fleet at Sluys, and the victories of Crécy and Poitiers had been rendered possible by the command of the Channel which was secured by this victory. But in 1372 the English fleet was defeated by the Spaniards off La Rochelle, and the command of the Channel

[1] See inset map opposite p. 24.

was lost. Before the death of Edward III the English dominions in France were reduced to the towns of Calais, Cherbourg, Brest, Bayonne and Bordeaux.

Edward's great effort, which cost many English lives and exhausted the resources of the kingdom, thus ended in failure. The first phase of the Hundred Years' War had, however, an important and lasting influence upon the development of the English constitution. The King's constant need of money for his successive campaigns in France afforded an opportunity for the assertion of claims by Parliament, and especially by the Commons. Burgesses and knights of the shire had originally been summoned into the Great Council of the realm to help the Crown in its struggle with the great barons, but, in the course of the reign of Edward III, they began a long conflict with the monarchy; it went on for more than three hundred years and ended with the Revolution of 1688–89.

The Parliaments of Edward III were not consciously devising a new theory of the constitution, but they made, from time to time, new demands, and these demands formed precedents which long afterwards became the basis for a constitutional theory. They refused to grant money until the King promised to redress grievances of which they complained; they insisted upon voting supplies for particular purposes; they asserted that new taxes could not be imposed without their own consent; they occasionally advised the King in questions of foreign policy, and they brought charges against his ministers, who were tried by the Lords upon accusations made by the Commons—a legal process known as impeachment. It was only the beginning of a struggle; the King was not beaten; on occasion he yielded to the demands of the Commons, and, on occasion, he ignored and defied them.

Along with the assertion of these new claims there was a further development, for Parliament became a legislative body, not only prepared to supply the Crown with money and to give its support to the executive in maintaining ancient rights and customs and in dealing with the problems of the day, but also ready to make new laws for the permanent government of the country. It defined the crimes which the King might treat as high treason; it restricted the authority of the Pope within the realm of England, and it made statutes for the regulation of trade, commerce and manufactures. Parliament also attempted to deal with economic difficulties produced by a scarcity of labour consequent upon the French war and the Black Death, and passed laws to determine both wages and

prices. The Statute of Labourers ordered that the same wages should be paid as before the Black Death; it was not obeyed, and the landowners began to solve the labour problem by turning agricultural land into pasture, and by attempting to revive the old obligations of serfdom or villeinage which had been falling into desuetude. Both these devices produced important results. The increase in the production of wool in the new sheep-farms gradually led to the rise of the English cloth trade, for the wool was no longer sent to the weavers of Flanders, and England began to be a manufacturing country. On the other hand, the revival of villeinage produced, almost immediately, a grave social conflict.

## VI

### PLANTAGENET, LANCASTER AND YORK

After the death of Edward III in 1377 the French war went on intermittently, but the interest of the reign of his successor, Richard II, the only son of the Black Prince, lies in domestic history. It witnessed the Peasants' Revolt, the culmination of the career of John Wycliffe, and the decisive defeat of an effort to establish an absolute monarchy in England.

The occasion of the Peasants' Revolt was an attempt to enforce the collection of an unpopular poll-tax; its cause is to be found partly in the political, but chiefly in the economic, conditions of the time. England was misgoverned and overtaxed, and the large expenditure on the French war was producing nothing but failure. The peasants were indignant at the Statute of Labourers and deeply resentful of the attempt to revive the system of villeinage. They were also influenced by an intellectual unrest, which was the result partly of Wycliffe's denunciation of the wealth of the great ecclesiastics and his attack upon the doctrines of the Church, and partly of the socialistic teaching of a priest named John Ball. In the summer of 1381 the peasants of Kent, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridge rose in rebellion, and large numbers of them marched on London, which they held for some days. The boy-King in vain promised to redress their grievances and to abolish villeinage, for these promises were followed by a great riot in which the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord High Treasurer were murdered. Finally, Richard held a conference with the peasants at Smithfield. Their spokesman, Wat Tyler, was killed at the beginning of the proceedings, and the King saved the situation by going

over to the angry peasants and saying that he himself would be their leader. While he held them in parley, a force which had been hastily organised by the Lord Mayor of London came to the King's assistance, and the peasants were surrounded and outnumbered. This was the end of the revolt. Many of those who had marched to London, or taken part in a series of outrages in the country districts, were severely punished; the royal promise of the abolition of villeinage was not observed, but the operation of economic causes continued to bring about its gradual disappearance.

In the crisis of the early part of his reign the young Richard behaved with royal courage, and great hopes were placed upon the son of the Black Prince, who had been a popular hero. But, as his reign progressed, Richard made an effort to establish an autocratic rule, and so came into conflict with his nobles. Like Henry III and Edward II, he employed an unpopular minister, Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, declined to dismiss him from his counsels and defied Parliament. A body of nobles, including Henry, Earl of Hereford, a son of Richard's uncle, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, formed a combination against him; they were known as the Lords Appellants, and for a time they took the government of the country out of the King's hands. Richard came to terms with them, and things seemed to go smoothly; but he was waiting for his opportunity, which came when the Lords Appellants began to quarrel among themselves.

The dispute between Norfolk and Hereford, which forms the opening scene of Shakespeare's *Richard II*, was the beginning of the crisis which ended in the deposition of the King. Richard got rid of the Lords Appellants and succeeded in assembling a subservient Parliament which abandoned the old constitutional claims and adopted measures the effect of which would have been to endow Richard with absolute power. There is no indication of any national opposition to the steps which Richard took in 1398; his failure was due to personal and family disputes. He had banished his cousin Hereford in 1398, and when John of Gaunt died in 1399 the estates of the Duchy of Lancaster, which were the heritage of his son, were declared to be forfeited. The disinherited Henry of Lancaster invaded England in the summer of 1399, while Richard was engaged in an Irish expedition. He was not the nearest heir to the throne, but he received so much support that Richard on his return from Ireland did not venture to meet him in arms and resigned the throne to his cousin, who, with the consent of Parliament, became King Henry IV (1399-1413).

It is in the mouth of Henry IV that Shakespeare puts the words "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." His short reign was a succession of wars and rebellions. He was at war with Scotland, where Robert III, the second monarch of the House of Stewart, was on the throne, and in 1405 the English captured at sea Prince James, the heir to the Scottish crown. The French war went on fitfully. The Welsh were in rebellion, and they made an alliance with the great family of Percy; but the Percys were defeated at Shrewsbury in 1403. Wycliffe had died in 1384, but his followers, the Lollards, became so numerous that they roused the alarm of the ecclesiastical authorities, under whose influence Parliament passed an act to provide for the burning of heretics in accordance with the law of the Church. In spite of his possessing the Duchy of Lancaster, Henry was always in pecuniary difficulties, which gave Parliament an opportunity of reaffirming some of the old claims made under Edward III and of increasing the importance of the Commons in the discussion of national affairs. The Court was divided into intriguing factions, and Henry, who in the later years of his reign was in continuous bad health, was unable to cope with the difficulties of the time. He was only in his forty-sixth year when he died in 1413, and his seizure of the Crown had brought him little happiness.

His son and successor Henry V (1413–1422) is the most famous of English mediaeval sovereigns. His revival of the Hundred Years' War was partly determined by a desire to distract attention from domestic difficulties and to popularise a new dynasty by brilliant military successes, for the condition of France offered a tempting opportunity to a young and adventurous English sovereign. The French had lost their chance of driving the English out of the country, and they were engaged in a civil war between the Orleanists (or Armagnacs) and the Burgundians. In the last years of Henry IV the Duke of Burgundy had asked and received English help, but the Burgundian alliance had afterwards been abandoned. Henry V announced his intention of recovering his "ancient right" to the French Crown, and it is probable that he convinced himself of the justice of his pretensions; but he was not the direct heir of Edward III, for his father, John of Gaunt, was Edward's third son, and there were descendants of the second son, the Duke of Clarence. The arrangement by which the English Parliament had acknowledged the House of Lancaster could not bind the succession to the French throne, so that whatever right had been

possessed by Edward III could not be logically claimed by Henry V.

In the summer of 1415 he invaded France, receiving no active assistance from the Burgundians, who maintained an attitude of benevolent neutrality towards the invaders. The campaign of that year is memorable for Henry's brilliant feat of arms at Agincourt. After capturing Harfleur, he marched with his small army across the north of France towards Calais, and on October 25 he defeated a greatly superior French force. But, like Edward III after Crécy, he was not strong enough to pursue his advantage, and he had to return to enjoy a triumphal reception at home and to make preparations for the prosecution of his task. In subsequent campaigns he reduced Normandy, and in 1420, having openly secured the Burgundian alliance, he was in a position to make good his claim. The French King, Charles VI, was mad, and his wife, Isabella, acted with the Burgundians against her son, the Dauphin. By the Treaty of Troyes it was agreed that Henry should marry the Princess Katharine, the daughter of Charles VI, and should rule as regent until the death of his father-in-law, when he was to succeed to the throne.

No real conquest of France had, however, been achieved, and the party of the Dauphin, who in 1422 became Charles VII, continued to maintain an organised resistance and appealed for help to the Scots. The Scottish King, James I, was an English captive, but his cousin, the Duke of Albany, who held the regency, complied with the French request. The Scots had their own quarrel with England, for the territory in the south of Scotland which had been occupied after the battle of Neville's Cross in 1346 had not yet been entirely recovered; and it was a maxim of Scottish statesmanship that if France should be crushed by the English, Scotland would be the next victim. At the battle of Beaugé, in March 1421, French and Scots won a victory which inspired the patriotic party with new hope.

The death of Henry V in 1422 and the succession of the infant Henry VI (1422–1461) deprived the English of their great leader and left the government of England and the maintenance of English authority in France to the care of two of the late King's brothers, the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester, who differed in character and in policy. Bedford was both a statesman and a soldier; he maintained the Burgundian alliance, and for some years the French and their Scottish allies made little progress. But French national feeling was gradually asserting itself, and in 1429 it found a leader in the peasant

girl, Jeanne Darc, who relieved the city of Orléans and conducted Charles VII to be crowned in the ancient cathedral of Reims. Misfortunes followed her successes; she was taken by the Burgundians and handed over to the English, who burned her as a witch in the market-place of Rouen in 1431. But the brief career of the Maid of France was the turning-point in the war. For a short time the English succeeded in holding their own, but their rule was challenged by local risings, and in 1435 they lost the help of the Burgundians, who came to terms with Charles VII. Bedford died in the same year, and from 1436, when Paris was lost, to 1453, when the last battle of the Hundred Years' War was fought at Castillon, English armies were gradually driven from Normandy, Guyenne and Gascony, until at last they held nothing but Calais.

At home this long record of costly failure led to the fall of the House of Lancaster. During the minority of Henry VI his uncle, the Duke of Bedford, was for the most part in France, but another uncle, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, proved a disturbing force in England. When Henry came of age he was unfitted to deal with the troubled situation. He was a well-intentioned man and the most saintly of English sovereigns, but he had inherited the malady of his grandfather, Charles VI of France, and his mind, at its best, was feeble. He married in 1445 Margaret of Anjou, but the marriage treaty was associated with the loss of the English dominions in France, and the Queen was believed to be a partisan of the French cause. Parliament, which since the accession of Henry IV had been claiming a larger share in the government of the nation, was too large and unwieldy a body to be an efficient ruler, and it had no armed force with which to repress the ambitions of the great barons, each of whom had his own army of retainers. There was a break-down of the administrative machinery at home, as well as a humiliating failure in France, and the efforts of the Queen to restore internal order by establishing an autocratic rule resulted only in creating a deep dislike of herself and of her favourite advisers, the Dukes of Suffolk and Somerset. The unpopularity of Margaret and Suffolk led in 1450 to a rising of Kentishmen, who, under a leader named Jack Cade, entered London and held the city for a few days. In the same year Suffolk, who had been impeached by Parliament, was murdered at sea.

The murder of Suffolk was generally attributed to the King's cousin, Richard, Duke of York. On the male side York was descended from the fourth son of Edward III, and stood,

therefore, after the House of Lancaster in the succession; but through his mother and maternal grandmother he was the representative of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, Edward's second son, and he could thus claim a title to the throne which was superior to that of the reigning family. While Henry and Margaret were childless York was the next heir to the Crown; but in 1453 Margaret bore a son, Edward, who was created Prince of Wales.

Just before the child's birth Henry became insane, and York was made Protector of the Kingdom. For some years there was a struggle for political power, the fortunes of which were determined by the state of the King's health. When Henry was insane York ruled, and when the King had a temporary recovery the Queen came into power. In 1455 the two parties fought a battle at St. Albans, in which the Duke of Somerset was killed and Henry was captured by the Duke of York, who, however, made no claim to the throne. Civil war was delayed for a few years, but the great barons all over England were grouping themselves into parties which supported the Lancastrian or the Yorkist cause, afterwards known as the Red Rose or the White Rose. The attitude of an individual baron was determined not by any strict legitimist theory of the succession but by his own ambitions, his relations with his neighbours and his approval or resentment of the policy of Queen Margaret.

It was the Queen who brought about the final appeal to the sword, by procuring in 1459 an Act of Attainder which forfeited the possessions of York and his followers. In the following year a Lancastrian army was defeated at Northampton by the Earl of Warwick, and Henry was again captured. A compromise was suggested by which the Attainders on the Yorkists were to be reversed, and the Duke of York was to be acknowledged as the heir to the Crown, to the exclusion of the little Prince of Wales. Queen Margaret naturally objected to this arrangement, and she collected an army from the north of England and obtained some Scottish help. In December 1460 the Lancastrians won the battle of Wakefield, where York was killed, and in February 1461 Queen Margaret gained another victory, at St. Albans. This was the crisis of the struggle. London was Yorkist in sympathy, but the two great successes of the Lancastrians made the Londoners waver in their support of the Yorkist cause, and if the victorious Lancastrian army had marched from St. Albans to London, the power of the Queen would probably have been established. But the pious

Henry absolutely declined to sanction a measure which would have subjected the capital to a sack by the northerners who formed the Queen's army. The Lancastrians returned to the north, and in March were completely defeated at Towton by Edward, the son and successor of Richard of York. Edward had entered London after Henry and Margaret moved from St. Albans and had been greeted as Edward IV ; and his claim to the throne was recognised by Parliament.

The rule of Edward IV (1461–1483) was interrupted by an insurrection which gave to the Earl of Warwick the popular name of the King-Maker. Edward resented his dependence upon his powerful supporter, and in one very important matter he acted in defiance of Warwick's advice. Warwick, who inclined towards a French alliance, proposed that Edward should marry a sister of the French Queen, but Edward fell in love with, and secretly married, a lady named Elizabeth Woodville, who belonged to a Lancastrian family, and allied himself with Charles the Bold of Burgundy against Louis XI of France. Warwick further resented the favour shown by Edward to the relatives of the new Queen, and in 1469 he made Edward his prisoner and himself conducted the government for some months until, in the spring of 1470, Edward was strong enough to banish him from England. This was an unwise step, for Warwick became reconciled with his old enemy, Margaret, the wife of Henry VI, who had taken refuge in France, and he invaded England in the Lancastrian interest. Edward fled to Burgundy, and Warwick restored Henry VI, who had been a prisoner in the Tower for some years. The Lancastrian restoration was short-lived, for Edward, with Burgundian help, returned to England and defeated Warwick, in April 1471, at Barnet, where the King-Maker was killed. The Yorkist victory was rendered complete, three weeks later, by the battle of Tewkesbury, where an army which had been collected by Queen Margaret was routed, and her son, the heir of the House of Lancaster, was killed.

Edward ruled unmolested until his death in 1483, and exercised greater power than any sovereign since the time of Edward III. It was evident that Parliament was unfitted to govern so troubled a country, for the people generally, and especially the inhabitants of the towns, who longed for a strong administration in order that the development of the rising English trade and manufacture might go on undisturbed by domestic brawls, were ready to acquiesce in the creation of an absolute monarchy. Edward encouraged trade and commerce,

and though for some time he was tempted by the allurements of an ambitious foreign policy and an attack upon France in alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, he was ultimately wise enough to see that he could best popularise his dynasty by a period of peace and prosperity. He did lead an expedition into France in 1475, and reached St. Quentin, but he deserted his ally, Charles the Bold, and came to terms with Louis XI.

The fall of the House of York took place little more than two years after the death of Edward IV. His heir and successor was a boy of twelve, who reigned for three months as Edward V (March–June 1483). The regent or protector was the boy's uncle, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who brought about a *coup d'état*, by which he himself was recognised as the sovereign. Richard III (1483–1485) might in other circumstances have been a wise and capable monarch, but he attempted to secure his position by the murder of his nephews, Edward V and his brother, the Duke of York. The two young princes were murdered in July 1483;[1] and from the moment of their disappearance the guilt of Richard was generally believed. The result was a division in the Yorkist party, which afforded an opportunity to a Lancastrian claimant, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who was a descendant of John of Gaunt, but had no good claim to the succession. With French help Henry of Richmond invaded England and defeated Richard on Bosworth Field (August 22, 1485). Richard was slain in the battle, and the reign of Henry VII (1485–1509) had begun.

While the strong central power created in England by Edward I and Edward III was being weakened by foreign wars and internal conflicts, the sovereigns of Scotland were also engaged in struggles with their great barons. The direct line of Robert Bruce came to an end with the unfortunate reign of his son, David II, who was succeeded by his nephew, Robert the Steward, a son of Bruce's daughter Marjory, and the founder of the long line of Stewart kings. Robert II (1371–1390) and his son Robert III (1390–1406) were feeble old men, and there was much disorder in the country; but in the later portion of this period, and during the captivity of James I (1406–1437), who for the first eighteen years of his reign was a prisoner in England, great progress was made in the recovery of southern Scotland from the English. James I, on his return to Scotland, made a vigorous effort to establish a reign of law, but he aroused many baronial enemies, and in 1437 he was murdered at Perth.

[1] Their skeletons were discovered under a staircase in the Tower in the reign of Charles II.

During the minority of James II (1437–1460), the work accomplished by his father was largely undone, and when James came to rule in person he found that the safety of the dynasty and the monarchy was menaced by the great House of Douglas.

James set himself to destroy the Douglas power; he did not hesitate to slay his enemy, but the murder of the Earl of Douglas by the King at Stirling in 1452 was a crime which did not prove to be also a blunder, and from the fall of the Douglases in 1455 the monarchy in Scotland became much stronger, even though, within a few years, the sovereign was again a minor. Except for the town of Berwick-on-Tweed, the only Scottish stronghold still in the possession of the English was the castle of Roxburgh. It was recovered in 1460, but James II was accidentally killed in the course of the siege.

The minority of his son, James III (1460-1488), was more fortunate than his reign, for the conduct of affairs was in the hands of a real statesman, Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews, and the Scots, by an alliance with the Lancastrians, obtained for a time possession of the long-coveted town of Berwick. James III was a man of artistic tastes who was unfitted to rule a turbulent kingdom, and he was almost alone among Stewart monarchs in having to meet disloyalty and treachery in his own family; for one of his brothers, Alexander, Duke of Albany, intrigued with Edward IV and Richard III in the hope of placing himself on the throne as an English vassal. The Albany conspiracy was defeated, but in 1488 James was killed in an attempt to suppress a rebellion. Under his son James IV (1488–1513) the power of the Scottish monarchy reached its zenith, and the country was more prosperous than at any other period since the reign of Alexander III.

## VII

## ENGLAND UNDER THE FIRST TUDORS

The history of the Reformation period in England was determined by the great increase in the power of the Crown under the House of Tudor. When Henry VII placed himself on the throne, the one demand of the country was for the firm and orderly government which was necessary for the expansion of trade and commerce. The marriage of Henry to Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV, in 1486 was welcomed as ending the feud between Lancastrians and Yorkists by the union of the Red with the White Rose. But there were still

many English barons who wished to prevent the establishment of a strong monarchical power, and they were encouraged by Margaret of Burgundy, the widow of Charles the Bold, who was a sister of Edward IV. In the first twelve years of his reign two pretenders, Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, successively challenged Henry's title to the throne; Simnel professed to be the Earl of Warwick, a nephew of Edward IV, who was, in fact, a prisoner in the Tower, and Warbeck claimed to be Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the two princes who had been murdered by Richard III.

Neither Pretender seriously menaced Henry's safety, but Simnel caused considerable trouble in Ireland, and Warbeck was supported by James IV of Scotland, who made on his behalf a half-hearted invasion of the north of England. Besides the domestic troubles caused by the Pretenders, Henry was engaged from 1489 to 1492 in a war with France in order to prevent Brittany, the last independent French province, from falling into the hands of the French King, Charles VIII. He joined the Spanish sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, and the Austrian Archduke Maximilian (afterwards the Emperor Maximilian I) in a league against France, but his allies played him false, and in 1492 he came to terms with Charles VIII. This was Henry's sole departure from the peaceful foreign policy necessary both for the prosperity of the English merchants and for the extension of the power of the Crown, which, in time of war, was dependent upon baronial levies.

The most important feature of the history of the reign of Henry VII is the suppression of the great barons. Many of them were in his power at the beginning of his reign owing to their support of Richard III, and he made full use of the advantage thus obtained. He restricted the number of their armed retainers by passing a Statute of Livery and Maintenance, to enforce which he utilised the Court of Star Chamber, the judges in which were members of the Privy Council, and were determined to carry out the royal policy. His taxation pressed heavily upon the upper classes, and he took "benevolences," which were really compulsory exactions of large sums. By the development of the Court of Star Chamber and in other ways he increased the authority of the Privy Council, which he employed to issue Royal Proclamations possessing, in practice, the force of statutes. In the last thirteen years of his reign he only once summoned Parliament, preferring to rule by means of the Executive. He found England poor and distracted, and he left it rich and peaceful, the people contented and the

nobles compelled to obey the King's Government and observe his laws. English authority in Ireland was greater than ever before. Scotland had ceased to be hostile, and James IV had married Henry's elder daughter, Margaret. There was also an alliance between England and the newly united kingdom of Spain, which was the greatest European Power of the day. Henry's eldest son, Arthur, Prince of Wales, had married Catharine, the daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, in 1501. The bridegroom had died in the following year, and Henry had betrothed the young widow to his second son, Henry, though the marriage had not taken place when Henry VII died in 1509. England had taken some part in the maritime explorations and discoveries of the period, chiefly through the voyages of John Cabot, a Genoese sailor who was commissioned by Henry to explore the coast of North America.

When Henry VIII (1509–1547) succeeded his father, the House of Tudor was firmly established, and the monarchy was powerful and wealthy. Henry VIII considerably increased the power of the Crown, but his ambitious foreign policy soon reduced him to poverty and increased the burden of taxation. Along with his great minister, Cardinal Wolsey, he attempted, in the earlier part of his reign, to make England a great continental Power. He began by joining a European league for the reduction, or even the destruction, of the power of France, which had roused the animosity of the Emperor, the Pope, Ferdinand of Aragon and the great Republic of Venice, by the creation of a French dominion in Italy. Henry saw in this combination an opportunity of recovering the English possessions in France, of which Calais alone remained, but there was no real chance of such an achievement, and Henry's allies would have resented any such aggrandisement of the power of England.

After a costly campaign, in which Henry won the "Battle of the Spurs," near Thérouanne, and captured Tournai (1513), he found that his allies were playing him false, and he made peace with Louis XII. A few years later an English alliance was eagerly sought by the two great rivals who were disturbing the peace of Europe—Francis I of France, and the Emperor Charles V, who was the ruler both of Spain and of the Netherlands. Henry's tortuous diplomacy was rewarded by the rare event of a visit of the Emperor to England and by the glory of a sumptuous meeting with Francis I on the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520); but, while Henry and Wolsey regarded England as holding the balance of power in Europe, Charles and Francis

were each bent upon using the English King as a catspaw and involving him in a conflict from which he had nothing to gain. In 1521 Henry threw in his lot with Charles V, and made war on France, but the success achieved by the Emperor in capturing Francis I at Pavia in 1525 rendered an English alliance useless to him, and Henry made peace with France, and afterwards rendered some slight and futile assistance to the French. His foreign policy, which in the first years of his reign was not unpopular, became more and more disliked as its costliness increased and its futility became evident, but he was fortunate in having a minister whom the nation blamed for every extravagance and every failure.

The fall of the great minister was not, however, connected with foreign policy. Henry had for some time professed to have scruples of conscience about his marriage with the widow of his dead brother, for which a Papal dispensation had been duly obtained by Henry VII ; he had fallen in love with Anne Boleyn, a niece of the Duke of Norfolk ; and he desired to make a second marriage in order to have a male heir to the throne, for all his children by Catharine of Aragon had died in infancy, except the Princess Mary. In 1527 he asked the Pope to declare that the dispensation which had been granted for his marriage was invalid, and that the marriage itself was, therefore, null and void. The Pope, Clement VII, was at the time a prisoner of the Emperor Charles V, a nephew of Queen Catharine, and he delayed his reply to Henry's request. Henry believed that Wolsey was lukewarm in his advocacy of what is generally, though not accurately, described as the royal "divorce," and in 1529 he dismissed him. Wolsey died in the following year, with a charge of treason hanging over him.

Despairing of obtaining a favourable reply from the Pope, Henry began to question the validity of any dispensation granted for such a purpose, arguing that marriage with a brother's widow was forbidden not merely by canon law, from the requirements of which a dispensation could be granted, but by the law of God, from which no ecclesiastical authority could give him a release. He was encouraged in this attitude by Thomas Cranmer, a young ecclesiastic for whom Henry in 1533 obtained from the Pope the succession to the see of Canterbury, and in the same year Cranmer decided the marriage question in favour of the King's contention. Henry therefore married Anne Boleyn, who in September gave birth to the Princess Elizabeth.

Meanwhile Henry, who up to the fall of Wolsey had summoned a Parliament as rarely as possible, convened one in 1529 and

kept it in being until 1536. With the support of this Parliament he brought about the separation of the English Church from Rome. The legislation by which this result was achieved began with the removal of some clerical abuses, proceeded to offer a definite menace to the Papal authority and culminated in Acts of 1533 and 1534 which forbade appeals on spiritual matters to the Court of Rome or the payment of any dues to the Pope, abolished his jurisdiction in England and gave to Henry the title of Supreme Head of the Church.

Various considerations explain the remarkable circumstance that an English king was able to bring about so great a change, apparently on a purely personal issue. Papal encroachments had long been resented in England, and Acts had frequently been passed to restrict the authority of the Pope to the spiritual sphere. The wealth of the Church had for centuries been regarded as excessive, and the ecclesiastical wealth included not only the proceeds of lavish grants of land which had been made to episcopal sees and religious houses, but also dues which were exacted from all classes of the population. Clerks enjoyed certain immunities from the ordinary law, and in spite of this they engaged in trading operations which were not proper to their condition and status; the monastic establishments also had lost the confidence of the nation and were a frequent topic for the scandal-monger. The influence of Lollardy, which had not entirely died out, was revived and increased by the reception of Lutheran doctrines among the English people. Protestantism had already made considerable progress, and Archbishop Cranmer was a married man. Henry had no sympathy with Protestantism, but Protestant feeling necessarily supported any movement against Papal authority. To these considerations we must add the general intellectual unrest and unsettlement of the Renaissance period and the vast power of the intricate constitutional machine which was controlled by the Crown. Further, as the Reformation developed, the King received an increasing volume of support.

The dissolution of the smaller monasteries in 1536 and of the great religious houses between 1537 and 1540 brought about a dislocation of the economic system, for the monks were good landlords and their hospitality afforded a provision for the poor; but the confiscation of their vast territories enabled Henry to grant or sell large quantities of land to new families who formed a powerful body of adherents of the royal policy. The transference to the Crown of jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters went far to complete the process by which the King controlled

the whole machinery of government. The changes thus made were, however, all carried out, not by royal proclamation or decree, but by Act of Parliament, and this circumstance has a profound significance.

From the beginning of the breach with Rome Henry summoned Parliament regularly, and he obtained from his Parliaments an almost undeviating support. The novelty and the importance of the religious crisis, and the spectacle of Germany in the throes of the Peasants' Revolt, tended to make the English Parliament trust the strong and determined King to carry the nation through a dangerous epoch, and no power which he desired was denied to him. In 1539 Parliament even authorised Henry, under certain restrictions, to make laws by means of royal proclamations, and thus parted (for eight years) with one of its own most jealously guarded privileges. But the whole extension of the royal prerogative was made by the authority of Parliament, and it was obvious that what Parliament could do Parliament could also undo. The Act of Proclamations was repealed on Henry's death, and his seventeenth-century successors found that, while that vigorous monarch had increased the practical power of the Crown, he had implicitly admitted the superior authority of the Parliament.

The religious settlement made by Henry VIII was little more than a repudiation of the Roman obedience. He had received from the Pope the title of "Defender of the Faith" for his defence of the Seven Sacraments against Luther, and he never accepted Protestant doctrines. He put Roman Catholics to death for refusing to acknowledge the Royal supremacy over the Church, among his victims being Sir Thomas More, a famous scholar who had been Chancellor of the Kingdom and was revered and beloved in his own day, as his memory has been cherished ever since. With More suffered Cardinal Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester. But he also put Protestants to death for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation; he insisted upon the celibacy of the clergy and compelled Cranmer to separate from his wife; and it was only in the last years of the reign that the Archbishop was able to obtain sanction for an English litany.

Henry's attitude towards the persecution of Protestants was, to some extent, influenced by the progress of his matrimonial adventures. He soon tired of Anne Boleyn and had her executed in 1536. Her successor, Jane Seymour, became the mother of a son, afterwards Edward VI, but died immediately after his birth. Both Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour were associated with the Protestant party, and it was during the

interval between his third and fourth marriages that Henry definitely adopted a position of unyielding doctrinal orthodoxy. Thomas Cromwell, Wolsey's successor as the leading minister, who was responsible for the dissolution of the monasteries, desired to maintain a Protestant connection, and negotiated an alliance with Anne of Cleves, the daughter of a German Protestant prince. The marriage took place in January 1540. But Henry did not like his bride ; he got the marriage dissolved in July and sent Cromwell (who had just been created Earl of Essex) to the scaffold. In August he married Catharine Howard, who was a niece of the Duke of Norfolk, and belonged to the Catholic party. Charges of infidelity were soon brought against the new Queen, and the marriage was dissolved and Catharine executed in 1542. In the following year Henry married his last wife, Catharine Parr, who was believed to have Protestant sympathies.

When Henry died he left many difficulties to the Regents for his young son, Edward VI (1547–1553). In his last years he had engaged in a new war with France which had brought to England the temporary possession of Boulogne, but had further depleted the resources of the country, impoverished as it was by over thirty years of extravagant expenditure. A war was in progress with the Scots, whose infant Queen, Mary Stewart, had been betrothed to Henry's son (cf. Chap. VIII). Economic changes and the social results of the disappearance of the monasteries were producing widespread discontent. The doctrinal position adopted by Henry was satisfactory neither to Roman Catholics nor to Protestants, and was not likely to survive its creator. Two Protectors in succession attempted to solve these problems. The first was Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, a brother of the young King's mother, who had been Henry's general in the Scottish war. Hertford, who took the title of Duke of Somerset, ruled for over two years. He adopted a distinctive, though not an extreme, Protestant position, repealed some of the legislation of Henry VIII, and passed in 1549 an Act of Uniformity, which prescribed the use of an English Prayer-book, prepared by Cranmer and known as the First Prayer-book of Edward VI.

Somerset's fall was due, not to his religious policy, but to the results of a social rebellion. The poorer classes of the community were in revolt against the reclamation of waste lands, which were being enclosed by the landlords and converted into farms or sheep-walks ; this process involved the confiscation of land over which the peasants had exercised common rights. At

the same time the number of beggars had been largely increased by the cessation of the aid which had been given by the monasteries, and bodies of "sturdy beggars" became a social danger. Somerset attempted to suppress the crimes of violence of which these men were guilty by passing an Act which ordered that convicted vagrants should be branded with the letter "V" and sentenced to slavery, or enforced labour, for two years. The old system of villeinage was not yet entirely extinct, and its abolition was demanded. A peasants' rising took place in Norfolk in 1549, under the leadership of Robert Kett, and Somerset entrusted its suppression to John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who had formed the design of supplanting the Protector. The suppression of the Norfolk rising gave Warwick his opportunity; he compelled Somerset to resign the protectorship and, after keeping him a prisoner for three years, put him to death.

Warwick, who soon assumed the title of Duke of Northumberland, governed until Edward's death. He favoured a more extreme form of Protestantism than Somerset, and in 1552 a new Act of Uniformity ordered the use of the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI; it represented an advance in the views of Cranmer, who was influenced by the Protestantism of two bishops appointed since the death of Henry VIII, John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, and Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, and by Hugh Latimer, who, after being tried for heresy, had been made Bishop of Worcester in 1535 and was a noted preacher. The great aim of Northumberland was to secure the succession to the Crown for Lady Jane Grey, a cousin of the delicate young King, to the exclusion alike of his Roman Catholic sister, Mary, the daughter of Catharine of Aragon, and of his Protestant sister, Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn. Lady Jane was a grand-daughter of the younger sister of Henry VIII; she was a young girl innocent of any political ambitions, but Northumberland married her to his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, and when Edward VI died, in July 1553, her father-in-law proclaimed her as Queen Jane, in accordance with the terms of a will which he had persuaded the boy-King to sign.

## VIII

### MARY AND ELIZABETH

The usurpation of "Queen Jane" was limited to a week. The Princess Mary collected an army and marched upon London, which, in spite of the Protestant sympathies of its citizens, gave

no support to Lady Jane, and Queen Mary (1553–1558) entered the capital unopposed. She had Northumberland executed, but was content with imprisoning Lady Jane and Lord Guildford Dudley. Mary did not at first attempt to do more than restore the religious situation as it had existed at the death of her father. Protestant bishops were dismissed, and Roman Catholic bishops were released from prison; the Prayer-book was abolished and mass again began to be said. But the authority of the Pope was not restored, and Mary described herself as Supreme Head of the Church. This moderate policy was abandoned after a year's trial, and the change in the Queen's attitude was connected with the violent opposition which was shown to her proposed marriage with Philip II of Spain.

Even in the period of the Spanish Alliance Spaniards had been very unpopular in England, and there would certainly have been opposition to the Queen's marriage with any foreigner; the opposition was doubtless intensified by the knowledge that Philip was a very bigoted Roman Catholic. The announcement of the conclusion of the marriage treaty produced a series of rebellions, which were suppressed without much difficulty; the most serious was a Kentish rising under Sir Thomas Wyatt, who led an army into London in the hope of placing the Princess Elizabeth on the throne. Wyatt's rebellion led to the imprisonment of Elizabeth and to the execution of Lady Jane and her husband. In July 1554 Mary and Philip were married in Winchester Cathedral, and the marriage was immediately followed by the restoration of the Papal authority; but the Queen did not venture to attempt the recovery of the alienated possessions of the monasteries.

A rigorous persecution of Protestants was now begun, and the change in the Queen's policy was popularly attributed to her husband, although Philip seems to have exercised a restraining influence, and he certainly obtained the release of the Princess Elizabeth. The policy of ferocity was due to the impatience of Mary herself, who was anxious to bring about the reconversion of England in her own lifetime. She was guided by Bonner, Bishop of London, and by Cardinal Pole, a member of the English Royal House whom she recalled from exile and made Archbishop of Canterbury. Among some 280 Protestants who suffered death within a period of four years were Archbishop Cranmer and Bishops Hooper, Latimer and Ridley. Mary was only carrying out the accepted theory of the age; but it is frequently a political error to pursue a theory to its logical conclusion, and it was probably the Marian persecu-

tion that decided the religious faith of the English people. Many Roman Catholics afterwards suffered in the course of Elizabeth's reign, but the effect of Mary's persecuting activity was largely increased by its concentration within a few years. Her proceedings were regarded as impolitic at Rome, and she died with a sense of failure upon her. The failure was not confined to her religious policy, for, in order to assist her husband, she entered in 1557 into a war with France, the chief event of which was the recapture of Calais by the Duke of Guise; it had been an English possession since 1347, and its loss was regarded as a national humiliation (January 1558). Mary died in November 1558.

The long reign of Elizabeth (1558–1603) possesses many features of interest. The attention of her contemporaries was concentrated upon her religious policy, her relations with Spain and her duel with her cousin, Mary, Queen of Scots. All three topics are closely related. At the date of her accession Elizabeth could not tell whether Protestants or Roman Catholics formed a majority of her people; she knew that, in the eyes of her Catholic subjects, her own title was invalidated by the circumstances of her mother's marriage and that the next heir was her cousin, the Queen of Scots, who had just married the Dauphin of France; and her attitude towards foreign Powers was dependent upon the possibility of Mary's putting forward serious pretensions to the English throne. In view of the reaction produced by the policy of her sister, Elizabeth decided to adopt a Protestant position; a revised version of the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI was prescribed for use in all religious services, and the government of the Church was again conferred upon the Crown by the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy (1559). But, beyond the infliction of a heavy fine for non-attendance at the parish churches, no attempt was made, in the first years of the reign, to persecute the English Roman Catholics.

There was a twofold reason for this comparative moderation. In the first place, Elizabeth did not wish to risk a Catholic rebellion until her throne was secure; and, in the second place, she desired to maintain friendly relations with Spain. Mary's husband became Francis II of France in 1559, and it was possible that Elizabeth might have to make a Spanish alliance if the French should attempt to unite the crowns of France, Scotland and England in the person of their young Queen. This danger was removed by the death of Francis II in 1560 and the return of Mary Stewart to Scotland in the following year; but a fresh

danger was created by the possibility of Mary's second marriage with a prince of the Austro-Spanish house. This event might have precipitated the conflict between England and Spain, which it was Elizabeth's policy to postpone, and it was not until she was free from any apprehension of this kind that her religious policy developed. In point of fact, Mary did not contemplate a Spanish match ; though only nine years younger than Elizabeth, she had set her heart upon the succession to the English throne, and the object of her ambition was to be acknowledged as the heir of her cousin. She consolidated her claim by her marriage with Lord Darnley, a Scottish exile in England, who stood next to herself in the English succession, but Elizabeth never recognised as her heir either Mary or her son, James.

When Mary lost her throne and fled to England for refuge, Elizabeth imprisoned her, and gave assistance to her rebels. The captivity, in an English prison, of the lady whom the English Roman Catholics regarded as their sovereign *de jure* led to a number of conspiracies against Elizabeth's life and to an open breach between England and the Papacy. The conspiracies continued until, after an imprisonment of nearly nineteen years, Elizabeth in 1587 put to death the fugitive who had fled to England in reliance upon a promise of help given by the English Queen. The breach with the Papacy, and the excommunication of Elizabeth by Papal Bull in 1570, were followed by a series of persecuting acts, directed against Roman Catholics, and by the execution of nearly 200 " Popish recusants." This persecution, and the conflict of English and Spanish ambitions in the New World, brought about the crisis of the struggle between the greatest Protestant and the greatest Catholic power in Europe.

The Spanish Armada, which was intended to avenge the death of Mary Stewart, to put an end to the slender assistance which Elizabeth was giving to the Netherlands in their revolt against Philip II and to make England a province of Spain, was defeated by the skill of English seamen in July 1588, and its destruction was completed by a memorable storm. The English Roman Catholics were loyal to Elizabeth in face of the menace of a Spanish invasion, but their loyalty was not rewarded by any relaxation of the penal laws. The Queen, like other rulers of the time, was determined to secure a rigid uniformity in religion, and she was scarcely less severe upon the English Puritans, who were dissatisfied with the Elizabethan religious settlement and wished to make the Church of England conform to the system and worship of the Calvinistic Churches on the

Continent. To deal with the Puritans she established an ecclesiastical Court of High Commission; but this institution soon attracted wide unpopularity.

The religious conflict and the foreign policy of the reign of Elizabeth, and even the story of her rivalry with Mary Stewart, are of less interest in modern eyes than the tale of exploration and adventure which we associate with her time. English mariners had received considerable encouragement from Edward VI, who had a boyish interest in geography, and in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, two great English captains, Hawkins and Drake, were making adventurous and profitable voyages to the West Indies. Their explorations were an additional cause of trouble with Spain, for the New World, by a Papal Bull issued in 1493, had been divided between Spain and Portugal, and the Spaniards resented any interference with what they regarded as their rights. Long before England and Spain were formally at war, English ships fought Spanish ships in the distant seas, and the results of the conflicts were not such as to discourage English sailors. Drake made his famous voyage round the world in 1577–80 and, about the same time, Sir Martin Frobisher and John Davis explored the Arctic regions. The first attempt to found an English colony was made in North America by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, but his expedition was shipwrecked. Gilbert's half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, subsequently sent out two expeditions to found a colony in a region of the North American coast which he called Virginia in honour of Queen Elizabeth (1585–87). After the defeat of the Armada, the maritime war continued, and Hawkins, Drake and Raleigh made voyages to the West Indies and to South America. The sack of Cadiz by Lord Howard, the Earl of Essex and Raleigh in 1596 was the most important incident of the last years of the Spanish war in Europe, but its fame is eclipsed by the memorable fight in which Sir Richard Grenville in the *Revenge* faced desperate odds for many hours. When the Queen died, in 1603, England had become the greatest naval power in Europe.

The importance of Scottish history in the sixteenth century lies in the revolution in Scottish foreign policy which brought about the termination of the Franco-Scottish alliance. The triumph of the English party in Scotland was the result of the still more fundamental change brought about by the Reformation, but the alliance had been weakened long before the religious changes began. The English occupation of Scottish territory in the fourteenth century linked together the fortunes

of Scotland and France, and the recovery of this territory, which (except for the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed) was completed in 1460, almost insensibly tended to the disintegration of the "auld alliance." The marriage of James IV with the Princess Margaret of England was hailed by a great Scottish poet as the union of the Thistle and the Rose, and though, on the accession of Henry VIII, the Scots gave their support to France, then menaced by a European coalition, and suffered a crushing defeat at Flodden in 1513, the policy of an invasion of England in the interests of France was strongly opposed by some of the advisers of James IV.

There was no real quarrel between Scots and English, although the young Scottish navy had become involved in unofficial conflicts with English ships, and the disaster at Flodden pointed a moral for Scottish statesmen. Friendship and ultimate union with England were advocated by the greatest Scottish scholar of the time, and the circumstance that the mother of the boy-King, James V (1513–1542), was a sister of the sovereign of England might have encouraged the English party. But the French party were strong enough to confer the regency upon the Duke of Albany, a cousin of the King, who had been educated as a Frenchman, and Queen Margaret's personal character was such that she proved a source of weakness to the Scottish friends of England.

When James V began to rule in person, he had to choose between England and France, but an English alliance involved a separation from Rome, which was strongly urged upon him by his uncle, Henry VIII. James, who had quarrelled with many of the Scottish nobility and relied largely upon the prelates for advice and support, was not prepared to adopt the Henrician position, and he made two French marriages in succession. Henry was irritated by his nephew's repudiation of an English alliance—he had offered him the hand of the Princess Mary—and the relations between the two monarchs became strained. Ultimately the two countries drifted into war and a small Scottish army was defeated at Solway Moss in November 1542. James was in feeble health, and he died three weeks later, leaving as his heiress a daughter born a few days before her father's death.

The minority of Queen Mary (1542–1567) afforded a new opportunity to the English party, for the Regent was not the child's mother, Mary of Guise, but the Earl of Arran, who was a Protestant. The Protestant faith had made great progress in the reign of James V, and Arran and the Scottish Parliament accepted a proposal to betrothe the infant Queen to Edward,

Prince of Wales. But Henry VIII made demands upon the Scots which led them to annul the treaty, and Arran entered into a league with Cardinal Beaton, the leader of the French party in Scotland. Henry retaliated by a series of invasions, under the Earl of Hertford, which were known in Scotland as "the English Wooing." Beaton was murdered by Scottish Protestants in revenge for the martyrdom of the reformer, George Wishart, but his death did not produce any change in the situation. In 1547 Hertford, who had become Protector Somerset, again invaded Scotland and won at Pinkie the last of the old battles between Scots and English; but the Scots refused to consider a proposal for marriage alliance, betrothed Queen Mary to the Dauphin and sent her to France in 1548.

During Mary's absence in France the French party in Scotland had a further success in the appointment of the Queen-Mother, Mary of Guise, to the Regency, but the continuous spread of the reformed doctrines created sympathy first with Protestant England under Edward VI and then with the suffering English Protestants under Mary Tudor, and the French alliance was identified with the lost cause of the old Church. After the return of John Knox to Scotland from France in 1559 the Scottish Protestants broke into open revolt against the Queen Regent and the French troops, who had been lent to expel the English garrisons which Somerset had left. They obtained help from Queen Elizabeth, but the Queen Regent died in June 1560, and with her death the French party ceased to exist. A Scottish Parliament then, by an Act of doubtful legality, established Protestantism as the religion of the country.

When Mary returned from France as a widow in 1561, she had to accept an accomplished fact, and she never had any chance of restoring the Papal supremacy; nor did she make any effort to do so. Yet a Roman Catholic sovereign could not permanently rule a country which was under the influence of John Knox, and the Scottish nobles entertained fears about the Church lands which they had seized. Mary's fall was almost inevitable; it actually came about because she lost the confidence and respect of her people by her marriage with Bothwell, who was known to be one of the murderers of her second husband, Lord Darnley. The Bothwell marriage was followed by Mary's imprisonment in Lochleven Castle, her forced abdication, her escape, her defeat at Langside, near Glasgow, and her flight to England (1567–68).

The successive Regents for Mary's young son, James VI (1567–1625), had to suppress a "Queen's party" which upheld

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Mary's cause till 1573. Under their rule the Protestant Church became definitely established, and when James VI grew up he found that the Church of Scotland had developed a Presbyterian constitution and that it claimed to be supreme and independent of State control in all spiritual and ecclesiastical matters. The chief importance of James's rule in Scotland lies in his conflict with, and partial victory over, the Presbyterian leaders, the most notable of whom was Andrew Melville. In foreign policy James remained, on the whole, true to the English alliance, in spite of some intrigues with Spain into which he was led by his impatience of Elizabeth's longevity. He had set his heart upon the English heritage, and declined to risk his succession by making any serious effort to save his mother's life. In March 1603, at the age of thirty-seven, he became King of England ; his two kingdoms remained entirely separate and were connected only by bearing allegiance to the same sovereign.

## IX

### THE STEWARTS IN ENGLAND

The accession of the House of Stewart to the English throne marks the beginning of a long conflict between Crown and Parliament in England. The origin of the struggle is to be found in the circumstances of the time and in the existence of rival theories about the powers which properly belonged to the English monarchy ; its history was partly determined by the personality of King James, his son and two of his grandsons. In Scotland there was a conflict, parallel in time and at certain stages closely related, between the Crown and the Church. The English quarrel, in the two periods in which it produced a revolution in the State, was intimately connected with a religious dispute, and the ultimate settlement of the religious question in Scotland involved a complete change in the relations of Crown and Parliament in that country, a change which rendered impossible the co-existence of two separate kingdoms under one constitutional monarch, and thus brought about the union.

When James I (1603–1625) succeeded Queen Elizabeth, there was, in fact, no definite English Constitution, but it was universally believed that such a Constitution existed and that differences of opinion between King and Parliament could be settled by an appeal to it. It was true, as we have seen, that

various claims to limit the Royal prerogative had been made at different times by Parliament, and that these claims had occasionally been admitted by the Crown; but no settlement of the questions at issue had been made at the accession of the House of Lancaster or of the House of York or of the House of Tudor, and the accession of the House of Stewart was a triumph for the principle of hereditary right. For an Act of Parliament, passed under Henry VIII, had given the succession to the descendants of Henry's younger sister, Mary, Duchess of Suffolk, in preference to those of his elder sister, Margaret, Queen of Scots. James regarded the doctrine of hereditary right as decisive in any issue between King and Parliament, for hereditary right meant Divine Right—the belief that a king received his prerogative and powers by birth from God alone, and that the duty of a people was to submit to the monarch divinely appointed to rule them. No subject, he held, might venture "to say that a King cannot do this or that," and the proper function of Parliament was to give information to the King, and not to oppose, or even criticise, him. Even if there had been a definite English constitution, with large Parliamentary powers, James would have considered it invalid, because there could be no permanent or binding bargain between an absolute monarchy and its subjects; if his predecessors had foolishly abandoned their rights, such action on their part could not prevent him from resuming these rights. As it was, he believed that the powers which had been entrusted to the Tudors formed a proof that England was, constitutionally, an absolute monarchy. The Parliament, on the other hand, considered that special powers had been allowed to the Tudor monarchs for special purposes, and, even before the death of Elizabeth, there were indications that the House of Commons wished to revive the rights which its predecessors had claimed, and had occasionally exercised, before the Tudors came to the throne.

This fundamental difference of opinion embittered the relations of James and his Parliaments throughout his whole reign and involved him in many serious disputes. He asserted, and the Commons denied, the right of the King to increase, at his own pleasure, the burdens of taxation, and he repudiated the claim of the Commons that such Parliamentary privileges as freedom of speech and freedom from arrest were the inheritance of their House and could not be granted or recalled by the Crown. He wished to claim a power of making new laws by Royal proclamations, but the judges, to whom the royal claim

was submitted, decided that, as this power had been granted only temporarily to Henry VIII by Parliament, it could not be inherent in the Crown. The letter of the law was often on the King's side in his disputes, but James was unwise enough to destroy public confidence in judicial decisions upon such points by dismissing judges who gave opinions against his contention that the King possessed a special prerogative by which he could, where the safety of the State was concerned, override all laws, and that he was the sole judge of the existence of such an emergency.

In addition to these constitutional disputes, which led James to rule without Parliament during a large proportion of his reign, the King was constantly involved in other quarrels with his Parliament and people. He had to deal with two religious problems, each of which brought him unpopularity. The Roman Catholics expected from James a more generous treatment than they had received from Elizabeth; the expectation was based upon intrigues in which the King had indulged before his accession, and James at first tried to meet it by relaxing the operation of the penal laws. But Parliament protested against any concessions, and some of the Catholics in their disappointment formed the famous Gunpowder Plot in 1605. The Plot changed the attitude of James, who for over ten years treated his Roman Catholic subjects with great severity. He never had any sympathy with the Puritans, for he had spent his life in Scotland in a struggle against Puritanism, and he refused either to make any concessions to those of the English Puritans who might have been persuaded to conform to the Church, or to tolerate outside the Church those of them who were opposed to Episcopacy. His repressive measures had an important effect upon the development of what was to be the British Empire, for a number of English Puritans, encouraged by the long-delayed success of a colony in Virginia, sailed to America in the *Mayflower* in 1620, and became the founders of the New England States. The progress of the new colonies was, at first, slow, and they did not attain any large increase in numbers until, in the following reign, the repressive measures of Laud drove more Puritans out of England.

Religious questions were closely connected with the unpopularity of James's foreign policy. Soon after his accession he made peace with Spain. The treaty was disliked because it put an end to privateering attacks of English vessels against Spanish treasure-ships, but towards the end of his reign James

gave much greater offence by an attempt to revive the Spanish alliance of the reign of Henry VII, and to marry Charles, Prince of Wales, to a Spanish princess. A Spanish marriage roused the old feeling against Spain, and a Roman Catholic marriage was a challenge to English Protestantism. In his anxiety to please Spain, James put to death (1618) the last survivor of the great Elizabethans, Sir Walter Raleigh; he had been implicated in a plot in 1603 and had been imprisoned in the Tower, whence James released him to discover a gold mine in South America; and here he came into conflict with Spanish forces. He was executed in accordance with a sentence pronounced fifteen years earlier, and his death roused fierce popular indignation. The Spanish policy also determined the attitude of James towards the Thirty Years' War in Germany; and he declined to give any help to the German Protestants, whose leader was his own son-in-law, the Elector Palatine.

The failure of the Spanish marriage project brought James some popularity in the last year of his life. His favourite, George Villiers, whom he had created Duke of Buckingham, accompanied the Prince of Wales to Madrid in 1623, and they returned to report that the Spaniards had no intention of making a marriage treaty. This caused a breach with Spain, and James made a concession to popular opinion by sending some ineffective help to the German Protestants. Charles I (1625–1649) soon destroyed such popularity as he inherited on his accession. He married the Princess Henrietta Maria of France, and, under her influence, made some relaxation of the penal laws against the English Catholics, thus rousing the Protestant bigotry of the time. He employed, as his chief minister, Buckingham, whose influence over James had been widely and deeply resented. He pleased the English Parliament by undertaking operations on behalf both of the German Protestants and of the French Huguenots, and by making war on Spain, but all his expeditions, military and naval, were unsuccessful, and for some of the failures Buckingham was definitely responsible.

The general distrust of the favourite was so great that, while he ruled the King's councils, Parliament declined to supply money to carry out the warlike policy of which it approved, or even to grant supplies necessary for the government of the country. This refusal gave Charles a reasonable grievance against his Parliaments, and, holding his father's views both about the nature of kingship and about the legal prerogative of the English Crown, he followed the advice of some of his

lawyers, who assured him that there existed a national emergency in which he might force his subjects to give or lend him money. When resistance was made to his demands, he imprisoned the recusants and exacted payment by sending soldiers, who were billeted in private houses in the disaffected districts.

The Opposition in the House of Commons took up the challenge thus offered by the King, and proposed to impeach the Duke of Buckingham. At the crisis of the struggle, in 1628, Buckingham was murdered, but his death only drew upon Charles himself the hatred which had been felt towards the favourite. Just before the murder Charles had been forced to assent to a Petition of Right in which the Commons asserted that the Royal prerogative did not extend to raising money without consent of Parliament, imprisoning subjects at the royal pleasure, billeting soldiers in private houses or employing martial law in time of peace. After Buckingham's death Charles was accused of breaking his promise in these respects, and fresh subjects of dispute arose owing to the policy of the King's ecclesiastical adviser, William Laud, whom he made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633.

It was widely believed that Laud intended either to reconcile England to Rome or to alter the doctrine and ritual of the Church of England so as to bring it into conformity with the Roman Catholic system. Laud dealt severely with the English Puritans, and they on their part demanded, not toleration, but the exclusive adoption of their own tenets. Alike in constitutional and in ecclesiastical matters there was an impassable gulf between the two parties. The Commons believed that they were restricting the Crown within the ancient legal limits of the prerogative and that they were demanding the maintenance of the religious settlement made under Elizabeth, while Charles and his advisers were equally convinced that they were upholding the ancient constitution in Church and State and that the Commons were trying to bring about a revolution. Part of the difficulty lay in the fact that there was no ancient constitution, and in the circumstance that the Elizabethan settlement was itself of the nature of a compromise, whilst its phraseology was capable of more than one interpretation.

In 1629 Charles definitely gave up the attempt to rule with the aid of a Parliament, imprisoned the leaders of the Opposition and entered upon eleven years of personal government. There was no great minister to stand between King and people, and the administration was largely conducted by the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission and other bodies closely

connected with the Privy Council. The severe punishments inflicted by the Court of Star Chamber upon Puritans and other opponents of the policy of the Government produced widespread indignation, and the King's unpopularity was increased by the methods adopted to raise money, the most famous of which was the issue of writs of ship-money. This was an ancient method of obtaining from maritime towns supplies for naval defence, but Charles in 1635 extended its application to the whole country, and when John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire, refused to pay, a judicial decision enforced the legality of the Royal demand.

In 1639 Charles brought to England Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, who had originally been one of his opponents in the Commons but had regarded the Petition of Right as too drastic, and had gone over to the King's side and been entrusted with the government of Ireland. His presence in England as Charles's chief adviser was accepted as a final threat to the existence of the liberty of the subject, and the country was ready for a revolutionary outburst, although the strength of the Government rendered it doubtful when an opportunity for rebellion would arise.

The opportunity was provided by the progress of events in Scotland. The accession of James VI to the English throne had greatly increased the influence and authority of the Scottish monarchy, and James had ruled his ancient kingdom as an absolute sovereign. He even succeeded in introducing Episcopacy into the constitution of the Scottish Church, but the stability of the arrangement which he made depended upon its being a compromise. The Scottish bishops created in 1610, though they derived their episcopal orders from England, did not possess the authority of English bishops. The highest court of the Presbyterian Church, the General Assembly, soon ceased to meet, but the lower courts continued to do their work, and the traditional ritual was retained in public worship. Under Charles I an attempt was made to replace the Jacobean compromise by a new constitution under which the Churches of Scotland and England were to be uniform in organisation, doctrine and ritual. Every vestige of the Presbyterian system was to disappear; the black gown was to give way to the surplice; and a revised edition of the English Book of Common Prayer was to supersede both the old Book of Common Order, known as Knox's Liturgy, and the extemporary prayers which were becoming usual in Scottish churches. These changes were resented, not only because they represented the triumph of an

English system and the entire submission of the Church to the State, but also because they were believed to indicate an intention of restoring Roman Catholicism.

In July 1637 there was a riot in Edinburgh against the introduction of the new Prayer-book; Charles refused to give way, and the movement developed into a revolutionary demand for the abolition of Episcopacy. Following a precedent of the Reformation period, the rebels signed a National Covenant by which they solemnly pledged themselves, before God, to maintain what they believed to be a purity of worship which was in accordance with the divine will. They began to organise themselves for warfare, and Charles, alarmed by the strength of the movement, allowed a General Assembly to meet in Glasgow in 1638. The Assembly defied the Royal Commissioner, abolished Episcopacy, and banished the bishops. An army under the young Earl of Montrose was sent to enforce the subscription of the National Covenant upon the inhabitants of the north-east of Scotland, where Episcopacy was popular, and another army under Alexander Leslie, a veteran of the German wars, was sent to invade England. Charles met him with some raw levies and made a truce, known as the Pacification of Berwick, in 1639, but hostilities were resumed in the following year, and Leslie's troops occupied Newcastle.

While the Scottish invasion was in prospect, Charles summoned an English Parliament in May 1640, but its sympathies were so manifestly with the Scots that he dissolved it in three weeks and abandoned any hope of being able to meet the Scots on the field. In October, when the Scottish army was in Newcastle, he agreed to a settlement in accordance with which the Scots were to evacuate the north of England on payment of their expenses. To raise money for this purpose, he had to summon another Parliament, and in November 1640 the "Long" Parliament met. It proved to be very hostile to the Government and at once impeached the Earl of Strafford. The Opposition, led by John Pym, was determined to bring about what amounted to a revolution in Church and State. It proposed to take from the Crown powers which unquestionably belonged to the prerogative and to change the balance of the constitution as between King and Parliament, and it was known also to aim at the abolition of the Elizabethan settlement of religion and at the establishment of a system analogous to Presbytery. Charles made many concessions. He gave up Strafford and signed the warrant for his execution. He assented to the abolition of the Courts of High Commission and Star Chamber

and to a Triennial Act by which Parliament was to meet once in three years even if the King declined to summon it, and he acknowledged Parliamentary control over taxation. But he was not prepared to yield on the question of Church government, and in the summer of 1641 he paid a visit to Scotland in the hope of obtaining Scottish aid by giving way on every issue between himself and the Scots.

Any hope of securing Scottish help to save Episcopacy in England was doomed to disappointment, for the Scots had already conceived the idea of the establishment of uniformity of religion, on Presbyterian principles, in both countries, and while Charles was in Scotland events occurred in Ireland which precipitated the inevitable conflict in England. English rule in Ireland had been gradually extended under the Tudors, and King James had introduced into Ulster a Protestant population, largely consisting of Scotsmen. When the firm rule of Strafford came to an end, a rebellion began which culminated in a fierce attack upon the Ulster Protestants in 1641. Parliament, in the King's absence, began to raise troops to suppress the rebellion, but there was much alarm lest this army should be employed to keep England in subjection, and, when Charles returned to London, the House of Commons sent him the Grand Remonstrance in which, after a catalogue of his illegal acts, demands were made for the appointment of ministers responsible to Parliament and for the nomination by Parliament of an Assembly of Divines to reconsider the whole question of the settlement of religion. The Grand Remonstrance produced a definite and final breach with Parliament, for Charles made an unsuccessful attempt to arrest five of his leading opponents within the precincts of the Houses of Parliament (January 1642). He then left London, and both sides began to prepare for war.

The violent character of the Grand Remonstrance, and the demands for the abolition of the old rights of the Crown and for a new ecclesiastical settlement, alienated some of the more moderate members of the Commons and increased the strength of the Royalist party. The two sides were, at first, not unequally matched, and both drew supporters from all classes of the population; but the Parliament had control of the machinery of government and of the means of raising supplies. The first action of the war was an indecisive skirmish at Edgehill, in Warwickshire, in August 1642; and during the campaigns of 1642 and 1643 the issue remained in doubt. The Royalists had the best of the fighting in 1643, and the Parliament sought the

aid of the Scots, who were prepared to render assistance only on condition that the English Parliament should agree to a uniform ecclesiastical settlement in the two countries; the details were left to an Assembly of Divines, but it was obvious that the arrangement involved the establishment of Presbytery as the only lawful form of church government in England.

In accordance with an agreement made in a Solemn League and Covenant, adopted by the Parliaments of both countries, the Scots sent into England an army under General Leslie, who had been created Earl of Leven by Charles on his Scottish visit in 1641. Leven's soldiers helped the ablest of the Parliamentary generals, Oliver Cromwell, to win the battle of Marston Moor in Yorkshire in July 1644, but the Parliamentary armies and their Scottish allies failed to bring the war to an end in the campaign of that year; this failure led ultimately to the abandonment of the policy of the Solemn League and Covenant and to the rise of a military despotism. Before the end of the year many of the Scottish troops were withdrawn to meet a new Royalist force in Scotland under Montrose, who had gone over to the King's side and was winning a succession of victories. The value of the Scottish resistance was thus reduced, and at the same time the political authority of the Parliament was diminished by Cromwell's creation of an army upon a new model. The issue of the war was decided in June 1645 by the victory of the New Model Army at Naseby in Northamptonshire, which put an end to effective Royalist resistance in England. Montrose became the sole hope of the Royalists, but he was defeated at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, in September 1645; and in May 1646 Charles surrendered to the Scottish troops under Leven at Newark.

The war had been won by Cromwell and the New Model Army. They fought in the name of the Parliament, and they had been compelled to take the Solemn League and Covenant; but they soon realised that they were the real masters of the situation, whilst in religious matters they were Independents who detested the authority of the Presbyterian Church courts as much as the rule of the bishops. The Parliament failed to grasp the situation. It made no adequate effort to provide the arrears of pay without which the victorious army would not disband, it declined to grant toleration for Independents, and it attempted to carry out the provisions of the Solemn League and to establish the Presbyterian system. Meanwhile, the Scots were trying to persuade Charles to assist themselves and the Parliament by taking the Solemn League; but he refused to do so, and was

consequently given up by them to the Parliament, his person being afterwards seized by the Army.

For some time the Army tried to mediate between King and Parliament on the basis of a restriction of the Royal power and toleration for Independents, Presbyterians and Episcopalians alike. But Charles believed that neither the Army nor the Parliament could acquire permanent control of the Government without his own aid, and he tried to play off one power against the other. When this device failed, he entered into an agreement with the Scots, who were incensed at the abandonment of the Solemn League, and in 1648 the Duke of Hamilton led a Scottish army into England in the Royalist interest. He was defeated by Cromwell at Preston, and this final success determined the Army leaders to destroy the Parliament and execute the King. In December 1648 Colonel Pride was sent to " purge " the House of Commons of its Presbyterian majority ; Charles was brought to trial and beheaded outside his own palace at Whitehall (January 30, 1649), and an English Commonwealth was created, with a Council of State appointed by the Independent remnant of the Long Parliament, known contemptuously as the " Rump."

## X

### CROMWELL TO ANNE

The Rump continued to play an important part in the Government for four years, in the course of which it passed, in 1651, the Navigation Act which dealt a blow at the carrying trade of the Dutch by forbidding the importation of goods into English ports from a foreign vessel which did not belong to the country in which the goods were produced. The members of the Rump shared generally the views of Cromwell, but a conflict between his ambitions and theirs was inevitable. It was postponed by two campaigns. In 1649 Cromwell undertook to reduce Ireland to the obedience of the English Commonwealth ; his military measures were marked by much ferocity, but they were successful in putting an end to the rebellion, and he settled many Englishmen on lands confiscated from their Irish owners.

He had next to deal with Scotland, where Charles II had been proclaimed immediately after his father's death. In 1650 Charles landed in Scotland, took both the National Covenant and the Solemn League, and was placed at the head of a

Covenanting army. Cromwell defeated the Scots at Dunbar in September 1650, but his victory did not put an end to the war, for Charles was crowned at Scone in January 1651. In the summer of the same year he invaded England and reached Worcester, where Cromwell gained the victory which he regarded as his "crowning mercy." Charles, after some adventures, made his way to the Continent, and Scotland was placed under a military administration while a scheme of union with the English Commonwealth was under discussion. In 1652 Cromwell's attention was further occupied by a naval war with Holland over the Navigation Act. The war lasted for two years and closed with the abandonment of the Dutch claims. During its course Cromwell became suspicious of the ambitions of the Rump; in April 1653 he expelled its members and, in the following year, proclaimed his own Protectorate over the united Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland. His power depended entirely on the Army; his attempts to cloak his military despotism by summoning Parliaments composed of his own supporters were unsuccessful, and his rule, though firm and strong, never became popular at home. In foreign policy he made an alliance with France against Spain, which he regarded as still being the chief enemy of Protestantism in Europe. The greatest success of his Spanish war was the seizure of Jamaica in 1655, though popular opinion at the time attached more importance to the capture of Dunkirk in 1658.

The Protectorate did not long survive the death of Cromwell in September 1658. His son, Richard, held the office for a few months and resigned in May 1659, when the Rump again came into power; but its authority was repudiated by the Army, and there was a danger of anarchy. Early in 1660 General Monck, who had been Cromwell's representative in Scotland, marched with his troops to London and compelled the Rump to recall the survivors of their colleagues who had been expelled by Pride's Purge in 1648. The restored Long Parliament decreed its own dissolution and provided for the election of a new Parliament by the old constituencies, which had been abolished during Cromwell's Parliamentary experiments. The Convention Parliament decided to invite Charles II to return from Holland, where he had issued the Declaration of Breda, promising an amnesty and religious toleration. These promises were the only suggestion of conditions to be observed by the restored monarchy, and, on his thirtieth birthday, May 29, 1660, Charles II received an enthusiastic welcome from the people of London.

The reign of Charles II lasted for a quarter of a century, in the course of which he achieved a great increase in the power of the Crown. Although he returned without conditions, the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission and the other machinery of the absolute Government of the reign of Charles I, which had been abolished before the outbreak of the Civil War, were not restored, and he found that he could neither rule without Parliament nor ignore its wishes. A new election resulted in the meeting of the Cavalier Parliament, which continued in being from 1661 to 1679. It was an assembly of men who were loyally devoted to the monarchy and to the Church of England. They regarded the interests of the Crown and of the Church as inseparably connected, reverenced Charles I as a martyr and adopted theories of the divine right of kings and of the sinfulness of any resistance to a divinely appointed monarch.

With such a Parliament Charles might easily have had his own way from the beginning of his reign, but there was one point of difference which marred their relations. The King was a Roman Catholic at heart and aimed at procuring toleration for the English Catholics, while the Parliament, led by Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, an old Cavalier and a companion of Charles in exile, adopted a position of rigid and bigoted Anglicanism, and would listen to no concessions, either to Protestant nonconformists or to Roman Catholics. Between 1661 and 1665 it passed the Clarendon Code, which enforced uniformity within the Church of England and forbade any exercise of public worship outside the Church. Clarendon was unpopular with the licentious court of Charles II, and his foreign policy made many enemies. The re-enactment of the Navigation Act brought about a revival of the war with Holland. The English navy won some victories, and the colonists in North America captured the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, which was named New York in honour of the King's brother, James, Duke of York; but, at the end of the war, the Dutch fleet was allowed to enter the Thames and the Medway and to destroy some shipping (1667). The ignominy of this incident brought about the ruin of Clarendon, who had also offended the somewhat sensitive national honour by selling Dunkirk to the French.

After Clarendon's fall Charles employed a number of ministers who were known as the Cabal. The most famous of them was Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, who was opposed to the intolerance of Clarendon's rule and wished to secure

toleration for the Nonconformists. Charles saw an opportunity of helping the Roman Catholics, and in 1672 he issued a Declaration of Indulgence which suspended the operation of all the religious penal laws. The Indulgence was welcomed by the Nonconformists, but the dominant Anglican party was so furious that it did not hesitate to humiliate the monarch. The violence of the opposition was directed against the Catholics, who were widely believed to have been responsible for the Great Fire which had devastated London in 1666. Charles realised the strength of the protest, and he withdrew his Declaration. But his submission did not satisfy the Anglicans, who in the same year (1673) passed the Test Act which prevented Roman Catholics from holding any office under the Crown.

The humiliating check placed by the supporters of Divine Right upon the King is to be explained not only by their dislike of the Indulgence, but also by their suspicions of Charles's foreign policy. The ambition of Louis XIV had made the power of France a grave menace to Protestant Europe, and especially to Holland, which, in spite of trade disputes, the English people were not prepared to see crushed. While Parliament believed that English influence was being used to support Holland, Charles, in 1670, made a secret treaty (of Dover) with the French King, and two years later brought about a revival of the Dutch war. For some years secret agreements between Charles and Louis played a great part not only in English foreign policy but also in domestic history, for Louis supplied Charles with money and thus enabled him to prorogue Parliament for long periods.

A complete change in the relations between the King and his Anglican supporters was brought about in 1679 by the "Popish Plot." A story of a Roman Catholic conspiracy to murder Charles and place on the throne the Duke of York, an avowed Catholic, was concocted by a scoundrel named Titus Oates. It was received with such general credulity and produced so vehement an outburst of bigoted injustice that Charles became convinced of the impossibility of doing anything to help the English Catholics; for the rest of his reign, therefore, he acted with the Anglicans and found his reward in a great increase of the Royal influence and authority.

By his wife, Catharine of Braganza, Charles had no child, and the succession became the great political issue of the last years of the reign. The Nonconformists and other opponents of the theory of divine right and autocratic power were coming to be known as the Whigs, and they proposed to exclude from

the succession the Catholic Duke of York. The Anglican or Tory party, though rigidly opposed to any toleration for Catholics, regarded with still greater horror any attempt to alter what they held to be the divinely appointed order of the succession to the Crown. After the dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament in 1679, the Whigs had a majority in the House of Commons, but Charles was strong enough to dissolve recalcitrant Parliaments, and for the last four years of his reign he did not summon a Parliament to meet. His long-postponed alliance with the Anglicans had gone far to restore the old power of the monarchy, and, when he died in 1685, the Duke of York succeeded peacefully to the throne as James II.

Within less than four years James brought the Stewart monarchy to ruin. In the first months of his reign his power was increased by an unsuccessful rebellion raised by the Duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles II. Even the moderate Whigs feared that any appeal to the sword would bring about a revival of the military despotism of Cromwell. But the rebellion was suppressed with such ferocity that the sufferers came to be regarded with sympathy, and James soon created an impression that he himself aimed at creating a military despotism in reliance upon a Roman Catholic army. He began by giving personal dispensations to individual Roman Catholics to hold commissions in the army, and in 1687 he made this permission universal by the issue of a Declaration of Indulgence. While he was convincing even the moderate Whigs that obedience to the Crown could not save them from military rule, he proceeded to alienate the Tories by destroying their confidence in the theory that the security of the Church was bound up with that of the Crown. By the exercise of the royal prerogative he overrode the constitutional rights of corporate bodies, and placed Roman Catholics in positions of authority in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, thus inspiring a belief that he intended to convert these homes of Anglicanism into Roman Catholic seminaries. The Royal attack upon the Church culminated in the prosecution of seven bishops for petitioning the King to withdraw a Royal injunction instructing the clergy to read the Declaration of Indulgence in the parish churches.

The acquittal of the Seven Bishops coincided with the birth of a male heir to James in the summer of 1688. The nation had looked forward to the succession of the King's daughter, Mary, a Protestant who was married to William, Prince of Orange, a grandson of Charles I, and the prospect of a continuance of

the existing *régime* brought matters to a crisis. The Whigs invited William to invade England, and he landed at Torbay, in Devonshire, in November 1688. James lost courage and fled; and in 1689 a Convention Parliament recognised William and Mary as co-sovereigns, and settled the succession upon their heirs, and then upon Mary's sister, the Princess Anne, and her heirs.

A settlement of the long-standing disputes between King and Parliament was at last achieved. By accepting the throne on conditions embodied in a Bill of Rights, William and Mary admitted the claims which Parliament had put forward in the course of the long struggle with regard to the illegality of the means by which the Stewarts had exercised an absolute power. The authority of Parliament was secured first by the Mutiny Act, which legalised military discipline for a limited time and thus necessitated frequent Parliamentary sessions if the Crown was to maintain the army which was required for the defence of the realm, and secondly by the Triennial Act (1694), which, by limiting the duration of a Parliament to three years, made it impossible for a sovereign to repeat the device of keeping a subservient House of Commons in existence for many years. The nonconformist Protestants, who had rejected the bribe of the Declaration of Indulgence and supported the opposition to King James, were rewarded by a limited tolerance. By the Toleration Act (1689) they were permitted to worship in chapels duly registered for the purpose, but they were not freed from the operation of the Test Act, which restricted the service of the Crown and all public offices to communicants in the Church of England.

A revolution in Scotland immediately followed the English Revolution. The restored monarchy in Scotland, from 1660 to 1688, had wielded an almost absolute power by corrupt and cruel methods. By a gross breach of faith Charles II restored Episcopacy in the Scottish Church, drove the Presbyterian incumbents from their parishes, and forbade them to minister to their own people outside the churches. Hillside meetings for public worship, known as conventicles, were suppressed by Government troops, and before the end of the Stewart period a law of almost inconceivable severity made death the penalty for mere attendance at a conventicle. These measures produced rebellions in 1666 and in 1679; neither was on a large scale, but the later rising, which followed on the murder of Archbishop Sharpe of St. Andrews, achieved a short-lived success before it was suppressed by the Duke of Monmouth.

As a Protestant and the hope of the Whig party, Monmouth displayed some moderation after suppressing the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge (June 1679), but he was soon replaced by the Duke of York, whose rule was so severe that it was known as the "Killing Time." In 1687 a Scottish Declaration of Indulgence brought some relief to the persecuted people, but, as in England, James immediately began to place the Government of the country in the hands of Roman Catholics. After his flight from England, a Scottish Convention Parliament assembled to determine the succession. The quarrel in Scotland had been religious, not constitutional, and the Scottish Parliament offered the Crown to William and Mary on condition of the abolition of Episcopacy as the form of church government in the Church of Scotland ; but it also adopted the constitutional claims which had just been put forward by the English Parliament, and the powers which were conferred upon the new King and Queen were those of a limited monarchy. The revolution, which was almost bloodless in England, gave rise to some fighting in Scotland, for the cause of King James was championed by James Graham of Claverhouse, a soldier who had been employed in suppressing conventicles. Claverhouse, on whom James conferred the title of Viscount Dundee, won a battle at Killicrankie in July 1689, but his death on the field brought the rebellion to an end.

The reign of William (1689–1702) was spent chiefly in fighting. Louis XIV, with whom James had taken refuge, espoused his cause, and war broke out with France. From the point of view of William, this struggle was a continuation of the conflict between France and Holland, and it was chiefly in the hope of saving his Dutch dominion from France that William had accepted the invitation of the English Whigs. The chief events of the beginning of the war were in Ireland, where the Irish Roman Catholics rallied to James, who went to Ireland in person. The Ulster Protestants held Londonderry against him, and, after a famous siege, it was relieved in July 1689. In the following year James, although he had received a reinforcement of over 7,000 troops from Louis, was defeated at the battle of the Boyne by William, who gradually restored English authority in Ireland by force of arms ; but his settlement, which was based upon an attempt to exterminate Roman Catholicism, greatly increased Irish ill-will to England.

The nine years' war with France was indecisive. A French naval victory off Beachy Head in 1690 threatened the existence of English sea-power, but the balance was redressed by an English

victory in the battle of La Hogue in 1692. The long war became very unpopular in England, where, as time went on, it came to be regarded as a struggle in the interests of Holland. At last, in 1697, both sides were tired, and the French agreed, in the Peace of Ryswick, to conditions which satisfied the Dutch; and they acknowledged William as King of England, Scotland and Ireland.

Peace, however, did not long continue, for a fresh dispute arose over the succession to the widespread dominions of the childless King of Spain. One of the claimants to the Spanish succession was Philip of Anjou, a grandson of Louis XIV, and William and his ally, the Emperor Leopold I, were determined to prevent the union of France and Spain. They persuaded Louis XIV to agree beforehand to a partition of the Spanish dominions, but when Carlos II of Spain died and left the whole heritage to the Duke of Anjou, he accepted the inheritance on behalf of his grandson. This breach of faith was accompanied by a repudiation of the terms of the Treaty of Ryswick, for, on the death in France of James II, Louis acknowledged his son (the " Old Pretender ") as James III of England and VIII of Scotland.

William organised a Grand Alliance of European Powers to oppose the ambitions of France, but he died in 1702 before the war actually began. Mary had died in 1694, and, as they had no child, the successor to the throne was the Princess Anne. Anne was married to Prince George of Denmark and had borne many children, but they had all died; and in 1701 the Act of Settlement selected, as her successor, the nearest Protestant descendant of James I, the Electress Sophia of Hanover, the mother of the reigning Elector, George.

The reign of Anne was a brilliant period in British military annals. Under the leadership of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, British and allied forces won over the French a succession of victories of which Blenheim (1704) is the most famous; and in the year of Blenheim an English naval force under Admiral Rooke captured the fortress of Gibraltar. The victory of Blenheim had, indirectly, an important influence upon domestic history, for it rendered a Whig Government strong enough to bring about a union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The co-existence of two separate and independent kingdoms under one crown was a practicable arrangement while both were governed by the same absolute monarch; but, when the monarchy became constitutional and each country claimed to be governed by its own Parliament, insuper-

able difficulties arose, and complete separation became the only alternative to entire union. The Scots had passed no Act of Settlement to determine the succession to Queen Anne, and the English ministry feared that a successful Jacobite movement in Scotland might revive the feeling for the House of Stewart which was still cherished by English Tories and on this account desired to bring Scotland into an incorporating union on the basis of the succession of the House of Hanover to the joint throne. They offered the Scots guarantees for the preservation of the Presbyterian constitution of the Church of Scotland as it had existed since the Revolution, but the Scots would not consent to a union without the complete freedom of trade which they had enjoyed under Cromwell and the loss of which had seriously interfered with their commerce since the Restoration. The English merchants were mostly Whigs, but they regarded with intense jealousy any proposal to remove the restrictions upon Scottish trade with England and the English colonies. The prestige acquired through Marlborough's victory enabled the English ministry to ignore the prejudices of their own supporters and to offer the Scots complete freedom of trade. The offer was accepted, and in May 1707 England and Scotland became the United Kingdom of Great Britain, the Scots sending forty-five members to the British House of Commons and sixteen representative Scottish peers to the House of Lords.

The French war lasted for six years after the Union, and in its later stages it became closely connected with domestic politics. The Whigs fell in 1710, and there came into power a strong Tory Government under Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke. The Tories had recovered from the panic produced by the attack made by James II upon the Church of England, and many of them regretted their acquiescence in the Revolution, and wished a second Stewart Restoration in the person of Queen Anne's brother, James. As the " Old Pretender " was enjoying the bounty of the French King, a peace with France must necessarily precede any attempt to secure his succession on his sister's death, and, in spite of fierce Whig opposition, the Tories made the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

After a successful war, Great Britain thus abandoned the main object for which the conflict had been fought, and Philip of Anjou was acknowledged as Philip V of Spain. But the claimant for whom the British armies had fought had just become the Emperor Charles VI, and his accession to the Spanish throne would have been as dangerous as that of his

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French rival. Great Britain found the reward of her successful effort in a large extension of her dominions in North America and in the retention of Gibraltar. The Treaty of Utrecht led to a long interval of peace in British relations with France, but it did not avail to help the Jacobite cause. The Tory ministry was not prepared to take any serious risk, and when Queen Anne died in August 1714, George of Hanover, whose mother, the Electress Sophia, had died a few weeks previously, succeeded, under the Act of Settlement, as George I.

## XI

### THE HOUSE OF HANOVER

The chief interest of British history from the accession of George I (1714–1727) to the battle of Waterloo lies in the development of the Overseas Dominions through a long duel between Great Britain and France. The duel may be said to have begun with the Revolution (1689), and the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) marks an important stage in its course. At the date of the Revolution English colonies covered a large proportion of the eastern seaboard of North America. Besides Virginia (1607) and the New England Puritan states (founded between 1620 and 1635), English Roman Catholics had settled in Maryland in 1632 and English Quakers in Pennsylvania in 1683, and colonies had been established in Connecticut and Rhode Island in the reign of Charles I, and in Carolina and Delaware in the reign of Charles II. The Dutch colonies which had separated New England from Maryland and Virginia had been ceded by Holland in 1667 and were known as New Jersey and New York. Besides the American colonies, there were English settlements in the West Indies, the most important of which, Jamaica, had been taken from Spain in 1655, and in Barbados, the Bahamas, Honduras, and Bermuda; whilst St. Helena had been captured from the Dutch in the time of Cromwell. In India there were English factories or trading-stations on the site where Madras now stands and near the mouth of the Hughli, and the Portuguese station at Bombay had been part of the dowry of the wife of Charles II.

The "French" wars which fill so large a proportion of the years between 1689 and 1815 were not begun with any conscious intention of annexing foreign possessions of France, and annexations formed no part of the Peace of Ryswick, the first of the

series of treaties of peace. The wars against Louis XIV were undertaken to preserve the existence of European Protestantism and to prevent the establishment of a French domination over Western Europe. That object was achieved by the Spanish Succession War; and Queen Anne's Tory ministers, instead of insisting upon conditions which had ceased to be necessary for the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, took the opportunity, in the Treaty of Utrecht, of obtaining for Great Britain the territories of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Hudson Bay in North America and the island of St. Kitts in the West Indies, as well as Gibraltar and Minorca in the Mediterranean. The term "the British Empire" did not come into general use until towards the end of the eighteenth century, but the Treaty of Utrecht may be taken as the beginning of imperial expansion as contrasted with the special and local causes which had brought about the colonisation of North America.

Exactly half a century elapsed between the Treaty of Utrecht and the Treaty of Paris (1763), which marks the next important stage in the growth of the Empire. During the first thirty years of that period Great Britain was at peace, and for part of the time in alliance, with France. This long break in the otherwise almost continuous conditions of hostility is explained by domestic circumstances both in France and in Great Britain. Louis XIV died in 1715, and with his death there disappeared the traditional friendship between the French Court and the Stewart House. The old French King had acknowledged the Hanoverian succession at Utrecht, but in the last months of his life he gave encouragement to a Jacobite Rising under the Earl of Mar, who raised the Jacobite standard at Braemar on September 6, 1715. Louis had died five days earlier, and the Jacobites, receiving no help from France, were easily suppressed. The Regent who ruled for the boy-King, Louis XV, as well as his advisers, recognised that France required a period of rest after the long wars of the last reign, and were ready to live at peace. Their interest was concentrated on European politics and not on colonial affairs, and the moderation which the British had shown in the European settlement at Utrecht had removed the main causes of difference between the two countries.

In Great Britain the Tories were regarded as committed to the Jacobite cause, and George I necessarily depended upon Whig ministers and a Whig majority in the House of Commons. The Whigs had been zealots for a French war in the time of

Queen Anne, but their attitude was chiefly determined by the protection given by Louis XIV to the Stewarts, and they were prepared to welcome a French alliance based on the abandonment of the Stewarts by the French Government. An alliance between Great Britain, France and Holland was accordingly negotiated in 1717, and Austria joined it in the following year. The European situation was complicated by the desire of the Spaniards to recover Gibraltar, and Spain took, for a few years, the place of France in Jacobite intrigues. But Sir Robert Walpole, who was in power from 1721 to 1742, followed the wise course of popularising the new dynasty by a period of peace and commercial expansion, and refused to be drawn into military adventures. He killed Jacobitism by giving George I contented subjects, by encouraging the creation of commercial enterprises which even the Tories would hesitate to subject to the hazards of a revolution, and by persuading all classes of the community to invest their savings in the National Debt which the Stewart claimant had promised to repudiate.

When George II (1727–1760) succeeded his father, Walpole remained in power, but as time went on his hold over the House of Commons began to weaken. A war was raging on the Continent over the question of the Polish succession, and a war-fever seized the British people. The question of Gibraltar had led to short periods of hostility with Spain, and in 1738 a serious dispute arose over the trading rights to Spanish South America which had been acquired by Great Britain at Utrecht. The Spanish claim involved the complete domination of the South Seas, but Walpole attempted to solve the problem by diplomatic means and thus became very unpopular. In 1739 he was forced into war with Spain, and three years later he resigned office.

The British quarrel with Spain soon came almost to be forgotten in the European war which was waged over the succession of Maria Theresa to the dominions held by her father, the Emperor Charles VI. The province of Silesia was seized by Frederick II of Prussia, who made an alliance with France. Maria Theresa asked George II for help ; the relations between Great Britain and France had been growing less and less cordial, for the Bourbon Kings of France and Spain had made a Family Compact in 1733 ; and British popular opinion supported George in entering the war in the interests of Austria. The battle of Dettingen, the last in which a monarch of this country took a personal part, was fought against the French in 1743, and was the only British victory in the course of a four years' campaign in Flanders. British military operations on the Continent were

interrupted by the Jacobite Rising of 1745–46, in which the "Young Pretender," Prince Charles Edward, with a force composed of men from the Highlands and the north-eastern counties of Scotland, seized Edinburgh, marched into England as far as Derby, and, returning to Scotland, inflicted a defeat upon a Royalist force at Falkirk, before his own army was crushed by the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden, near Inverness. At sea Anson and Hawke gained important victories, and the colonial conflict began with the capture of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton (Nova Scotia), by the British, and the seizure of Madras by the French. These conquests were mutually restored when the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was made in 1748.

The War of the Austrian Succession was only the prelude to the Seven Years' War, which decided that British, and not French, influence was to be paramount alike in India and in North America. During the eight years of peace which separated the two struggles there was a regrouping of the European Powers, but Great Britain remained constant in its antagonism to France. The French were alarmed by the growing power of their ally, the King of Prussia, and the Austrians thought that the British had rendered them inadequate help in the last war. Maria Theresa still hoped to recover Silesia, and she made an alliance with France against the British and the Prussians. The war in Europe is a relatively unimportant episode in British history, and its victories and defeats need not be related here. The great minister, William Pitt, who came into power in 1757, had, while he was in opposition, fulminated against intervention in the European struggle, but when he himself became responsible for the conduct of the war, he acted on the principle that to feed the opposition to France in Europe was to hamper her in America and in India. The French Government, on the other hand, regarded the war in Europe as of primary importance, and failed to give adequate support to their representatives in the colonies.

This preoccupation of the enemy with the progress of events in Europe was a fortunate circumstance for Great Britain, for at the outbreak of the war the French achieved important successes both in America and in India. In both regions hostilities were in progress before the mother countries were in a state of war. The French had built a series of forts to connect their colonies of Louisiana and Canada and to prevent the westward expansion of the British colonies of the eastern seaboard, and they had defeated at Fort Duquesne (the modern

Pittsburg) not only a colonial force, in which George Washington served, but also a detachment of the British army under General Braddock (July 1755). This disaster was followed by others, and the situation in North America formed one of the dangers from which Pitt, on coming into office, declared that he alone could save the country. In 1758 he despatched a force which recaptured Louisbourg and several of the French forts, including Fort Duquesne—which was renamed Fort Pitt—and in the following year he commissioned James Wolfe, a brilliant young officer who had fought at Louisbourg, to undertake the capture of Quebec. Wolfe's exploit is one of the classical stories of military history ; it was accomplished while Wolfe was suffering from a serious illness, and a wound in the moment of victory cost him his life (September 1759). The fall of the great stronghold of Quebec left Montreal the citadel of French power in Canada ; it held out for a year, and after its capitulation to Lord Amherst in September 1760 Canada was in the possession of the British, and the French held no part of North America except their colony of Louisiana.

In India, similarly, victory was snatched from a situation which might easily have brought disaster. The British traders at Calcutta had fortified their settlement in anticipation of a French attack. The Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-daula, who had an understanding with the French, took offence at the fortifications, captured Calcutta, and confined about 150 persons in a small military prison familiarly known as the Black Hole. After a night of torture, only twenty-three of the captives were left alive (June 1756). Robert Clive, who had distinguished himself in the last war, captured Calcutta and the neighbouring French settlement of Chandernagore, and on June 23, 1757 he won, with a very small army, the great victory of Plassey, which ended the power of Siraj-ud-daula and made the British masters of Bengal. The French made a gallant and determined effort to hold the Carnatic, and undertook a siege of Madras, which was defended by Stringer Lawrence, who had learned from the great French statesman, Dupleix, how to train sepoys to serve under European officers, and is consequently regarded as the founder of the Indian Army. Madras was relieved in the beginning of 1759 by vessels sent out by Pitt, and in the following year French prestige in the Carnatic was destroyed by the victory of Eyre Coote at Wandewash, though the largest of the French settlements, Pondicherry, did not surrender until January 1761. Every French possession in India had thus fallen into British hands.

## XII

### GEORGE III

The treaty which closed the war was not the work of Pitt. George II died in 1760, and his grandson and successor, George III (1760–1820), was under the influence of the Earl of Bute, whom he introduced into the Cabinet. Pitt discovered that the French had made a new Family Compact with Spain in the hope of retrieving their fortunes, and he proposed to anticipate the enemy by an immediate declaration of war on Spain. Bute hoped to conclude the war without widening the area of hostilities, and Pitt resigned in October 1761. Three months later Great Britain was at war with Spain, and British ships captured Havana and the Philippines. Bute persisted in his intention of bringing to an end a war in which the British had already acquired more than they could propose to retain, and the Treaty of Paris was concluded early in 1763. It gave to Great Britain the command of India and of North America. The French possessions in India, Pondicherry, Mahé, Karikal and Chandernagore, were restored, but only as trading-stations, and the French undertook not to fortify them, thus leaving Great Britain as the only military European Power in India. Canada and Cape Breton were ceded by France, and Spain gave up its American colony of Florida, receiving in return Louisiana from the French, who were thus banished from North America. In addition to the possession of Canada and the removal of French rivalry in India, Great Britain retained the West Indian islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, Tobago and Dominica, which, with other French possessions, had been taken in the course of the war.

The Treaty of Paris subjected British statesmanship to two great tests. The future of British dominion in North America depended upon the conciliation of the French colonists in Canada and upon the maintenance of cordial relations with the old British colonies which, by the conquest of Canada, had ceased to depend upon the mother country for protection from the French, and were therefore likely to resent the continuance of restrictions in the existence of which they had hitherto acquiesced. From the first of these tests Great Britain emerged with striking success. In spite of the bigotry which was still supreme at home, toleration was at once given to the French Canadians, and the Quebec Act of 1774 protected the old

church lands and ratified much of the French legal system. Wisdom and generous sympathy laid the foundations of Canadian loyalty to the British Crown.

It was otherwise with the problem of the old American colonies. They still required a defence force against the Indians; and in 1765 George Grenville, then Prime Minister, passed the famous Stamp Act, which, it was hoped, would produce part of the revenue required for this purpose by a stamp duty upon legal documents in America. In the confused condition of home politics at the time, the measure caused little excitement, and public opinion in Great Britain was astounded by its reception in America. The colonists were accustomed to the control of their trade by the mother country, which forbade any export of colonial products to foreign countries except through a British port and prohibited the local manufacture of cloth and other necessaries of life. Colonial trade was regarded as part of the trade of the home country, with which it was never allowed to compete. This was the mercantile theory of the time, and its operation was taken for granted. But each of the thirteen North American colonies possessed its own representative assembly, and was accustomed to manage its own domestic affairs; so that the imposition of an internal tax, as distinguished from customs duties, was interpreted as a tyrannical interference with their rights and liberties. The Stamp Act was successfully defied, and the colonists realised that the mother country was not in a position to enforce its own regulations, and began to make some of the articles the manufacture of which was forbidden by the outrageous commercial system of the time. A new British Government, under Lord Rockingham, learned enough of the lesson of these events to repeal the Stamp Act in 1766; but this concession was accompanied by a Declaratory Act which asserted the right of the British Parliament to govern the colonies.

This assertion was none the less foolish because it was technically indisputable, and it gave the colonists a principle for which to contend. The next British Government, of which the nominal head was William Pitt (then Earl of Chatham), challenged colonial opinion by acting upon the assertion made by its predecessor. Chatham was seriously ill, and in his absence bills were passed imposing heavy duties upon goods imported into the colonies (1767). Customs duties were in accordance with old precedents, but the colonists had come to resent the old restrictions upon their trade, and they argued that these restrictions already constituted a sufficient contribution to the

finances of the United Kingdom. The new import duties created wide differences of public opinion both at home and in the colonies. The Americans were not united, for there was a large body of loyalists who upheld the claim made by the British Government, and at home there grew up a strong party, including many illustrious men, who gave a whole-hearted sympathy to the demands of the colonists. This party included Chatham, who on his recovery at once resigned office, Edmund Burke, Charles James Fox and the younger William Pitt; and the views of these statesmen were shared by men of letters like Adam Smith and David Hume, and by the merchants of the City of London. When Lord North became Prime Minister in 1770, he abolished the import duties except the duty on tea, which George III insisted upon retaining. It was a fatal blunder, for, three years later, the city of Boston offered a famous defiance to the tea duty, and the penalties which the British Government tried to inflict upon Boston and Massachusetts, though they could not be carried into effect, brought the quarrel to a head and mark the beginning of the American Revolution.

The "Intolerable Acts" directed against Boston in 1774 produced a feeling of unity in the colonies, which overcame the religious and other difficulties that had separated them from one another in the past. A Congress met at Philadelphia in September of the same year and drew up a Declaration of Rights, but it was not until after fourteen months of actual hostilities that, on July 4, 1776, another American Congress issued a Declaration of Independence and announced the birth of a new nation, the United States of America. The first blood was shed in an accidental skirmish at Lexington in April 1775; the British Government had failed to make adequate preparations to enforce its will, and for some time the colonial forces, under the leadership of George Washington, were in a position of military superiority. They besieged the main British army in Boston, took the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, invaded Canada, and captured Montreal (1775). The British Government sent out reinforcements and, in spite of Chatham's warnings, hired German mercenary troops to fight in America, a step which played a considerable part in determining the colonists to declare their independence. The British generals showed no skill in the conduct of the campaign; they were fighting in a country both hostile and unfamiliar, and at a great distance from their base, and they were hampered by injudicious interference from London. In 1776 Boston was abandoned to

the colonists, but New York was taken by the British, who narrowly missed an opportunity of inflicting an almost irretrievable blow upon Washington.[1] In the following year General Burgoyne allowed himself to be surrounded at Saratoga, and had to surrender with a large force.

The surrender at Saratoga was a turning point in the war, for it led the French to enter the struggle on the side of the Americans in 1778, and in 1779 Spain made an alliance with France. The object of the European Powers was not merely to help the Americans but also to revenge themselves on the British and to regain what they had lost in the Seven Years' War. Their intervention was decisive of the struggle in America, but it ultimately failed to achieve its other aims. In 1780 the British gained some successes over French and American troops, and the campaign of 1781 began favourably for their cause. But in August the main British army, under Lord Cornwallis. was in the peninsula of Yorktown, at the mouth of the Chesapeake, which had been fortified as a base to maintain communications with the sea. A great French fleet arrived in American waters and blockaded the mouth of the Chesapeake, and in October Cornwallis was forced to surrender. The capitulation of Yorktown put an end to the struggle in America. It was the direct result of French and Spanish intervention, for the British were preoccupied with the defence of Gibraltar, which was besieged from 1779 to 1782, and with a naval campaign in the West Indies.

The defence of Gibraltar is a gallant episode in military history; the *mot* has already been referred to, that " the British saved a rock and lost a continent," but British rule in North America was already doomed, although it might have been possible to sever some of the southern states, at all events temporarily, from the union. The victory of the Americans was the result of the genius and perseverance of George Washington as well as of the intervention of France and Spain.

Outside America the British Empire was saved by the navy. Rodney won a great victory over the Spaniards off Cape St. Vincent in January 1780, and temporarily relieved the pressure on Gibraltar, and two years later, in the course of a series of British disasters in the West Indies, he defeated a French fleet near the Isle of Saints and saved Jamaica. The failure in the American war brought about the end of North's long tenure of office in 1782, and the new ministry included three supporters

[1] There are reasons for believing that this opportunity was intentionally missed by the British General (Lord Howe).

of the American cause—Charles James Fox, Edmund Burke and Lord Shelburne, the latter of whom soon became Prime Minister and acknowledged the independence of the United States. The European Powers received in the Treaty of Versailles (1783) some concessions at the expense of Great Britain, but, with the great exception of the loss of the American colonies, the British Empire remained practically intact.

This period of grave peril and serious loss witnessed an expansion of British rule in India and the beginnings of colonisation in Australia. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 had put an end to the rivalry of the French in India, but the British were still far from being masters of that divided country. When the French entered the war in 1778, they incited Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore, to attack the British, who were already engaged in a war with the Mahrattas; but, under Warren Hastings, the British emerged successfully from both conflicts, and British dominion in India was consolidated by the establishment of a new system of government and administration. Captain Cook's voyages to Australasia were made between 1768 and 1769. In the latter year he was murdered in the Sandwich Islands; but his discoveries had already borne fruit, and in 1787 colonisation in Australia began with a convict settlement in Sydney.

The failure of the British in America involved, in domestic history, the failure of an attempt by George III to make the monarchy a powerful factor in politics, and established the supremacy of Parliament. But the House of Commons was elected on a very ancient franchise and was ceasing to be representative; and a movement for Parliamentary reform began in the early years of the reign of George III. The arguments of the reformers gained strength from the results of the Industrial Revolution. The invention of machinery had put an end to cottage industries and created large manufacturing towns, and the employment of coal to smelt iron led to a vast increase of population in the north of England. The large towns, however, which grew up had no representation in Parliament.

William Pitt, a son of Chatham, who became Prime Minister in 1783, was inclined to look with sympathy upon the demand for an alteration in the franchise and upon other reforms which found advocates at the time. In spite of an outburst of bigotry in 1780, when a madman named Lord George Gordon led a London mob which showed its Protestant zeal by the destruction of property, it was coming to be recognised that the penal laws against Roman Catholics were a serious blot upon the Statute Book, and the public conscience was also being awakened with

regard to the part played by British ships in the slave trade from Africa to America and some of the British colonies. These reforms were, however, delayed for many years by the consequences of the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789.

In its first stages there was much British sympathy with the Revolution, for it was believed that the French intended to free themselves from an autocratic government and establish a Parliamentary rule on the model of British institutions; and it was also known that the French peasants suffered from tyranny and oppression. But the development of the Revolution into an orgy of blood and terror alienated moderate opinion in this country, and as early as 1790 Pitt changed his attitude towards Parliamentary reform, whilst Burke published his indictment of revolutionary principles. The Radicals, or more extreme advocates of reform, created much alarm by their sympathy with the French, and Thomas Paine's *Rights of Man*, published in 1791–92, inculcated the doctrines of the Revolution and demanded their application at home. The Government thereupon became panic-stricken and proceeded to adopt repressive measures which were out of proportion to the actual danger; and reforms ceased, for the time being, to be matters of practical politics.

Within four years from the outbreak of the French Revolution Great Britain became involved in a French war which lasted, with two short intervals, for over twenty-two years. Pitt would not join the other European Powers when they intervened in French affairs, but when the French Revolutionary armies conquered Belgium and menaced Holland, to which this country had treaty obligations, he began to prepare for war. The French Republic was, by the beginning of 1793, a growing military power which attacked its neighbours as Louis XIV had done in the preceding century. The actual declaration of war was made by France on February 1, 1793, and it was generally agreed that a conflict had become inevitable; but a number of Whigs, led by Charles James Fox, denounced the war as an interference with the natural rights of a foreign country; and William Wordsworth, although he afterwards advocated the most resolute opposition to the ambitions of Napoleon, never wavered in his conviction that, at its inception, the Great French War, like the struggle in America, was a "war against Liberty."

In the first period of war, which ended with the Treaty of Amiens in 1802, there were five main phases of the struggle as it affected Great Britain. The first was the operation of a

powerful European Coalition against France. It included Great Britain, Spain, Holland, Austria and Prussia, and the British took a part in hostilities in Flanders as well as in a naval conflict which involved attacks upon French possessions in distant seas. The navy won a great success in Lord Howe's Battle of the First of June, fought in the Channel in 1794, and outlying French possessions fell into British hands; but the French were victorious in the main theatre of the war. The British expeditions to Flanders were unfortunate and badly led. Holland was conquered and practically annexed by France, Prussia was forced to make terms with the French, Spain deserted her allies and joined the enemy, and Austria, defeated and exhausted, had to lay down her arms; whilst the rising young general, Napoleon Bonaparte, was engaged in the subjugation of Italy. In 1797 Great Britain stood alone against France in combination with Spain and Holland.

The second phase of this stage of the war was a French attempt to invade the British Islands. Admiral Jervis defeated the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent in February 1797, but mutinies in the British navy, at a critical time in the summer of 1797, gave an opportunity to the invaders which, fortunately, they failed to make use of; discipline was restored, and in October Admiral Duncan shattered the Dutch fleet off Camperdown. Napoleon Bonaparte returned from Italy in the end of the year, and the Directory, which was then in control in France, instructed him to prepare a plan of invasion. He came to the conclusion that an invasion was impracticable while the British held the command of the sea, and he began a new phase of the war by dealing a blow at British influence in the East. He stirred up Tippoo Sahib, the son of Hyder Ali, to make war on the British, promising to help him in expelling the British from India. In order to carry out this plan, he conducted an expedition to Egypt and captured Alexandria, but Nelson went in pursuit and destroyed the French fleet in the battle of the Nile (August 1798), thus severing Napoleon's communications with France. Tippoo Sahib was defeated and killed in 1799, and British help given to the Turks prevented Bonaparte from achieving a conquest of Syria. He accordingly made his way home to France in the autumn of 1799.

The fourth phase of the war was the disruption of the Second European Coalition, which Pitt had formed in the beginning of the year. Russia and Austria joined Great Britain, and an attempt was made to drive the French from Holland and Italy. But the British were again unsuccessful in Flanders, and

Napoleon, who in the end of 1799 became the ruler of France under the title of First Consul, defeated the Austrians at Marengo and Hohenlinden, while the Russians proved treacherous and deserted the Alliance in 1800. In the last phase of the first stage of the war Great Britain again stood alone against France, and had to face a hostile Armed Neutrality proclaimed by Sweden, Denmark, Prussia and Russia. The Armed Neutrality was dissolved by Nelson's victory over the Danes at Copenhagen in April 1801, and by the death of the Tsar Paul. The French were defeated by Sir Ralph Abercromby at Alexandria, and in June the French army in Egypt surrendered. Both Great Britain and France required a breathing space, and in 1802 the Treaty of Amiens was concluded on terms which were more satisfactory to the French than to ourselves.

The last years of the war were marked by an Irish rebellion, which led to a union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. In accordance with an arrangement made in the reign of Henry VII the Irish Parliament had been for three centuries a subordinate legislature under the control of the Parliament and Privy Council in London. This position was resented in the eighteenth century by the Irish Protestants who formed the Parliament, and in 1782 they took advantage of the War of American Independence to obtain legislative independence. From 1783 Grattan's Parliament—as it was called after the leader of the movement, Henry Grattan—legislated for Ireland, and although it was still a Protestant Assembly, it repealed some of the shameful penal laws and gave the vote to Roman Catholics of the upper classes. These concessions were insufficient, and in the first years of the French war local conflicts between Protestants and Catholics became very numerous, under the influence of a "Society of United Irishmen" which aimed at absolute separation and invited help from France. The French attempted an invasion of Ireland in 1796, but the project miscarried, and a new plan was formed for a rebellion and an invasion in 1798.

The rebellion broke out in May; it was accompanied by many outrages and was savagely suppressed. French help did not arrive until after the rebellion was over, and the small French force which landed at Killala was easily defeated. After the suppression of the rebellion Pitt decided upon bringing about a union. He believed that peace in Ireland could be secured by the repeal of all the religious penal laws and the endowment, from State funds, of the Irish Roman Catholic clergy. It would have been impossible to persuade the Irish Protestant

Parliament to pass these measures, for they could scarcely be expected to place themselves at the mercy of the Roman Catholic majority which had so long been oppressed. A union of the kingdoms would secure the protection of the Irish Protestants, and it would thus be safe to grant what was known as Catholic Emancipation. The Irish did not want a union, but Pitt succeeded, by bribery and other means, in persuading the Irish Parliament to pass a Bill of Union in 1800. But he suddenly found himself unable to carry out his whole design, for George III refused to allow his ministers to bring forward a Catholic Emancipation Bill. Pitt resigned office in 1801; the King, who probably expressed the opinion of a majority of the people of Great Britain, had deprived the Irish settlement of 1801 of any chance of success.

Pitt was soon recalled to office by the revival of the French war. Various causes led to a rupture of peaceful relations within a year from the Treaty of Amiens. In its first phase the war was a duel between Great Britain and France, the aim of Napoleon being to invade this country and to bring about the destruction of British dominion in India. French intrigues in India resulted in the outbreak of the second Mahratta war, in which Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, won his first laurels at the battle of Assaye (1803); the war resulted in the defeat of the Mahratta and other Indian chiefs and in the British annexation of Delhi, the capital of the old Mughal Empire. The menace of invasion continued for three years, and was met, in addition to naval measures, by the embodiment of a great volunteer army of nearly 400,000 men, and by the recall of Pitt to power. It was not until October 1805 that Nelson's vigorous action in preventing the combination of the French squadrons, culminating in his last victory at Trafalgar, removed all danger of the landing of an invading army. By that date the ambition of Napoleon, who in 1804 was elected as hereditary Emperor of the French, had brought about the revival of the Continental War.

The last great task of William Pitt before his death in January 1806 was the formation of the Third Coalition, which included Great Britain, Austria and Russia. It fell to pieces at once, for Napoleon crushed the Austrians at Austerlitz in December; but Britain and Russia continued the struggle for some time. The British effort was made, not in the usual battle-ground of Flanders, but by means of expeditions to various parts of the world. Sicily was saved from the French, and the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope was captured in 1806; but

British forces failed to retain the Spanish possession of Buenos Aires, and an expedition which forced the passage of the Dardanelles in 1807 failed to detach the Turks from a French alliance, the British ships having to make a hurried withdrawal. Meanwhile Napoleon had forced Prussia into war and, after destroying the Prussian army at Jena and Auerstedt, had entered Berlin in triumph in 1806. Russia opposed him without success, and in July 1807 the Tsar Alexander I gave a new illustration of Russian treachery by making with Napoleon the Secret Treaty of Tilsit; Great Britain again stood alone.

The French controlled the continent of Europe, and the British were masters of the sea; in these circumstances the warfare became, for a time, an economic struggle. In the end of 1806 Napoleon issued the Berlin Decrees, which asserted, in defiance of the facts, that the British Isles were in a state of blockade, and forbade countries dependent on, or allied with, the French Empire to trade with Great Britain. The British Government at once replied by issuing Orders in Council which authorised the confiscation of any neutral vessel trading between French ports or between France and any country which recognised the Berlin Decrees. These prohibitions were subsequently reissued in more extreme forms, which raised serious questions about the rights of neutrals and, especially, of the United States of America. It became a point of honour for Napoleon to insist upon the acceptance of the Berlin Decrees, or their later form, the Milan Decree, by every Continental country. Russia, in the Treaty of Tilsit, promised not only to accept them herself but to help to compel Denmark, Sweden and Portugal to enter into the "Continental System." This Russo-French agreement was immediately followed by the British seizure of the Danish fleet (September 1807), and a French attempt to coerce Portugal led to a new phase of the war.

Napoleon easily obtained the mastery of Portugal and at first proposed to divide his spoils with Spain; but he soon changed his mind, picked a quarrel with the Spanish Royal House, and placed his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, upon the throne of Spain. Popular insurrections followed, both in Portugal and in Spain, and in 1808 the British Government sent an expedition to Portugal under Sir Arthur Wellesley. He won a great victory at Vimeiro (August 1808), but the arrival of senior officers deprived him of the conduct of the campaign, and, in an agreement known as the Convention of Cintra, the fruits of the victory were thrown away. The

generals concerned were recalled, and Sir John Moore was instructed to give assistance to the Spaniards. He marched into Spain, but the collapse of the Spanish resistance compelled him to retreat to Corunna, when he was killed in the course of an action fought to cover the embarkation of his troops. Wellesley was sent out with a new force in 1809, and for five years he conducted the Peninsular campaign which helped to drain the resources of France. After many vicissitudes, he expelled the French from Portugal in 1811; in the following year he recovered a large tract of Spanish territory, but at its close had to retreat to the Portuguese border; in 1813 he drove the French through the passes of the Pyrenees, and invaded France in the spring of 1814.

By that time Napoleon's power was destroyed. In 1809 Austria had made a new effort against him, and the British sent a force to make a diversion by the capture of Antwerp. But the Austrians were immediately crushed at Wagram, and the British forces were wasted in the island of Walcheren. Napoleon remained undisputed master of nearly the whole continent. But his successes roused the alarm of the Tsar, whose subjects were suffering from the economic results of the Continental System. The two Emperors quarrelled, and in 1812 Napoleon conducted the famous Moscow campaign, from which he returned nominally victorious, but with less than a tenth of the "Grand Army" which he had led into Russia. The Fourth Coalition (Great Britain, Prussia, Russia and Austria) was formed against him in 1813, and he was defeated at Leipzig in October. He declined offers of peace in the conviction that he could completely recover his position; but he had exhausted the manhood of France, and, after a brilliant defensive campaign in his own eastern provinces, he was compelled, in April 1814, to abdicate. He was given the small domain of the island of Elba; the Bourbons were restored in the person of Louis XVIII; a treaty of Paris was drawn up; and a European Congress sat at Vienna to discuss the resettlement of Europe. The same year saw the conclusion of a war between Great Britain and the United States of America, caused by the interference with American trade involved in the operation of the Orders in Council and by a claim to conscript for the navy British subjects who had become American citizens. An American invasion of Canada was repulsed in 1812 and two American forces were compelled to surrender; a Canadian invasion of the United States was similarly unsuccessful in 1813, and the Americans had the best of a struggle in the

Great Lakes. In 1814 General Ross, with troops set free from the war in the Peninsula, defeated the Americans at Bladensburg and burned the public buildings at Washington in retaliation for outrages committed by American troops in Canada. There were many naval duels between American and British frigates, with varying results, and ultimately their numerical superiority gave the advantage to the British. The fall of Napoleon put an end to the quarrel, and peace was made by the Treaty of Ghent on December 24, 1814; two weeks later, before the news was made known in America, a British force was defeated at New Orleans.

On March 1, 1815 Napoleon escaped from Elba, and landed in France. The French people and his old soldiers rallied to his cause, and he entered Paris in triumph. A Fifth Coalition was at once formed against him, and on June 18 he was completely defeated by the British and the Prussians, under Wellington and Blücher, at Waterloo. Any further effort was hopeless; he surrendered to the British, and ended his days (in 1821) as a prisoner at St. Helena. A second Treaty of Paris (1815) closed the Great French War, and the Congress of Vienna continued its task of settlement. The effect of the Treaty upon the British Empire was considerable. Of the French possessions which had been captured during the war, only Mauritius, Tobago and St. Lucia were retained. Great Britain also retained the island of Malta, which had belonged to the Knights of St. John, and the Danish island of Heligoland. The most important acquisitions were made from Holland, which had been continuously under French control throughout almost the whole of the war. They consisted of Cape Colony, Ceylon and the South American possessions of Essequibo, Demerara and Berbice, which now form British Guiana.

In the first period of the war there had been considerable economic distress in this country, but the years from 1803 to 1815 were, on the whole, prosperous, although British shipping suffered very severely in the American War of 1812 and during the stages of the dispute which preceded the outbreak of hostilities, when the United States prohibited commerce with Great Britain. The British were not placing large armies in the field, and there was an ample supply of labour for the constantly increasing manufactures of the country. Even French markets were not closed to British products, for the French Government found it necessary to give licences for this purpose, and there was a large and lucrative smuggling trade with France and her allies.

## XIII

### A CENTURY OF DOMESTIC POLITICS AND EXPANSION

### (1815–1914)

The years from the close of the Great French War in 1815 to the beginning of the Great German War in 1914 witnessed a series of stupendous changes in the whole structure of the national life of Great Britain and the British Empire. The vast and intricate body of facts which form the record of these momentous hundred years may, perhaps, be best rendered intelligible by treating separately domestic affairs, imperial development and foreign policy in the period. When it opened George III was still alive, but he had been blind and out of his reason for five years. His eldest son, who had been Regent since 1810, reigned as George IV from 1820 to 1830, when he was succeeded by his brother, William IV. Then followed the long reign of Victoria (1837–1901), who revived and restored popular respect and affection for the monarchy, the prestige of which had greatly decreased under her uncles. When she died, the British monarchy had become the link which kept a free Empire together, and the tradition of a kingship of service to the nation, which she established, was maintained by her son, Edward VII (1901–1910), and by her grandson, George V.

In domestic history the most troubled years of the whole century were those which immediately followed the victory over Napoleon. The war was followed by a period of commercial depression, and the resulting unemployment was popularly attributed to the introduction of machinery. There was a great scarcity of food, and the general discontent gave rise to a succession of riots, the most notable of which were the "Peterloo Massacre" at Manchester in 1819 and the "Radical War" in Scotland in 1820. Severe measures of repression were adopted, for the Government suspected deep-laid plots to bring about a revolution and steadily refused to take steps to ameliorate either the economic or the political conditions which produced the disturbances. A growing agitation for the reform of the franchise and the establishment of what might reasonably be described as representative government met with a determined opposition from the majority of the House of Commons, many, or even most, of the members of which were elected by very small constituencies and owed their seats to influence or

to corruption. There was, however, a body of reformers in the House of Commons which maintained the struggle for the extension of the franchise, and some important reforms were carried through the old Parliament. Sir Robert Peel, as Home Secretary, revised the criminal law and abolished the death penalty for minor offences (1823), and he repealed the Combination Laws which had prohibited the institution of Trades Unions to protect the common interests of workmen.

In 1828 Lord John Russell carried a motion for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts of the reign of Charles II and thus opened the service of the State freely to Nonconformists; for a century yearly Indemnity Bills had been passed in their interest, but all previous efforts to banish these iniquitous Acts from the Statute Book had been defeated by a religious bigotry which had long ceased to have any justification. Other statutes still imposed penalties upon Roman Catholics, both in Great Britain and in Ireland, and a fierce political conflict raged over Catholic Emancipation. The Duke of Wellington, who was Prime Minister, was personally opposed to it, but he at last became convinced that it was inevitable, and a substantial measure of religious equality was achieved by the Roman Catholic Relief Act, passed in 1829. Three years of bitter conflict passed before the franchise was reformed. It is difficult for us now to understand the arguments by which the Tories defended a system under which Birmingham, with a population of over 100,000, was unrepresented, while the deserted hamlet of Old Sarum returned two members, and Scotland, with a population of over 2,000,000, had only about 3,000 voters in the counties. The first Reform Act, which was carried in 1832 only by the threat of the creation of a sufficient number of new peers to outvote the opponents in the House of Lords, was a very moderate measure, but it gave the franchise to a large number of the middle class; tenants paying a yearly rent of £50 in the counties, and householders in the towns whose houses were valued at £10 a year or over, received a vote. The seats were redistributed, and the "pocket boroughs" were disfranchised. The passage of the Act (1832) was due to the efforts of the Prime Minister, Earl Grey, and of Lord John Russell in the House of Commons.

The Reformed Parliament at once set to work to remove a whole series of abuses. The slave trade had been prohibited in 1807, but slavery continued to exist in the British Colonies until it was abolished by the Emancipation Act of 1833; whilst a sum of £20,000,000 was paid as compensation to the slave-

owners. The Poor Law was amended in 1834; it had been created in the last years of Queen Elizabeth and had been altered under George III, and many abuses had gathered round it. Municipal corporations also, both in England and in Scotland, had degenerated into small and corrupt oligarchies, and a new municipal franchise was therefore established in Scotland in 1833, and in England in 1835. On the other hand, a very insufficient effort was made to limit the abuses which had grown up round the factory system. Work in factories was done in insanitary conditions, the hours were scandalously long, and the operatives were inadequately paid. Many years were to elapse before the State interfered to improve the conditions of adult labour, but the cruelties inflicted upon child-workers had already attracted attention in Parliament, and in 1833 Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury) carried an Act forbidding the employment of children under the age of nine, and restricting their hours of work.

During these years there was a vast increase in commerce and manufacture, which were greatly assisted by the introduction of steamships and railways. The shipbuilding industry on the Clyde dates from 1812, when a steamship, the *Comet*, was launched at Port Glasgow, but it was not until 1838 that a ship, moved entirely under steam, crossed the Atlantic. The first railway line ran from Stockton to Darlington, and was opened for traffic in 1825. The Liverpool and Manchester Railway followed in 1830. The introduction of the electric telegraph came some years later, the first telegraph company in this country being founded in 1846. Improvements in means of communication went on throughout the century; the (recently defunct) system of penny postage was adopted in 1839; a Trans-Atlantic submarine cable was laid in 1866, and the last decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the development of the telephone.

After the first enthusiasm of the Reformed Parliament had expended itself upon the removal of the most clamant abuses, two popular movements, known as Free Trade and Chartism, came to absorb public attention. Since the battle of Waterloo scarcity of food and the high price of corn had led to an agitation for the free admission of foreign corn and the abolition of the Corn Laws which regulated the import of grain. The Tory party, representing the "country interest," opposed the repeal of these laws on the ground that the free admission of foreign corn would make farming unprofitable and thus ruin British agriculture and render the country dependent on foreign food

supplies. The Liberals, on the other hand, representing the manufacturing interest, argued that cheap food would mean low wages and, therefore, the production of manufactured goods at prices which would open new foreign markets to British trade. After some years of discussion, the repeal of the Corn Laws was carried, in 1846, by a Tory minister, Sir Robert Peel, who was supported by many Whigs against his own followers. Peel, like the Tory party in the eighteenth century, disliked customs duties, which he regarded as a check upon commerce, but he had hitherto believed in the retention of a sliding scale of duties upon foreign corn, varying as home-grown supplies were plentiful or scarce. He was converted by the outbreak of an appalling famine in Ireland in 1845, and he proposed, and ultimately carried—though the measure broke up the Tory party—the repeal of the Corn Laws. Peel, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had already acted upon his principle of reducing the number and the amount of duties upon imported goods, and, in the year in which he repealed the Corn Laws, he abolished duties on over 400 kinds of goods. He believed that the decrease in the public revenue would soon disappear owing to an increase of trade, and in 1842, when he began his attack upon customs duties, he introduced the income-tax as a temporary means of providing a revenue until an increase in the number of goods imported should replace the sums lost by the reduction of the duties. This hope was not realised, but Peel's Free Trade principles were given further application by his friend and pupil, W. E. Gladstone, in 1853 and again in 1860 and 1861 ; in the last-mentioned year he removed a duty on paper to encourage the circulation of cheap books and newspapers.

Chartism was the outcome of a disappointment with the first Reform Act. The agitation which resulted in the production of the " People's Charter " in 1838 demanded manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, annual parliaments, the abolition of a property qualification for the House of Commons and the payment of members of Parliament. For some years the movement languished, but the political disturbances on the Continent in 1848 gave it fresh life, and in that year there were Chartist riots, and a monster petition, which was found to contain a considerable proportion of invented names, was presented to the House of Commons. The agitation did not survive the ridicule created by the petition, but almost all the demands of the Charter have, since then, been carried into operation, though nearly twenty years elapsed

before the second Reform Acts of 1867 and 1868 created a household franchise and a lodger vote in the boroughs, and greatly lowered the qualifications for an occupier's vote in the counties. A third Reform Act, passed in 1884 and 1885, introduced household suffrage and the lodger's vote into the counties, and enfranchised the agricultural labourer. Both of these Reform measures included a redistribution of seats, which tended towards the equality of electoral districts. The property qualification was repealed in 1858, the Ballot Act was passed in 1872 and members of the House of Commons began to receive payment in 1911. The only clause of the Charter which has not been carried out is the demand for annual Parliaments. The Triennial Act of 1694 had been replaced by a Septennial Act in 1716, when the Whig ministry of that period was alarmed by the Jacobite efforts, and it remained on the Statute Book until 1911, when the duration of a Parliament was limited to five years.

The Second Reform Act was followed by another series of liberal measures. Elementary education was made compulsory in England in 1870 and in Scotland in 1872, and religious tests in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge were abolished in 1871. A great advance was made in labour legislation, following on some tentative measures which had been passed in the 'forties. Lord Ashley did not relax his efforts after his success in carrying the Factory Act of 1833, but, up to 1867, the only result attained was the prohibition of the employment of women and young children in underground mines and the limitation of the hours of labour of persons under eighteen to about ten and a half hours a day, and these restrictions were carried only after a bitter and prolonged struggle. In 1867 women and young persons received further protection in the institution of State supervision over the factories in which they worked, and in 1878 this protection was extended to all factory workers, whilst inspectors were appointed to report upon the sanitary conditions in works and manufactories. Trades Unions, which had acquired great power, were then still in a doubtful position in the eyes of the law, for it was uncertain whether the repeal of the Combination Acts legalised the existence of these great combinations of workmen, some of which had conducted their operations with violence and disorder. In 1867 a judicial decision declared that a Trades Union was an illegal society which had no lawful title to hold property; but in 1871 Mr. Gladstone's Government gave legal recognition to the existence of Trades Unions, and in 1875–76 the Conservative ministry

of Mr. Disraeli (afterwards Lord Beaconsfield) passed new measures which admitted the right of workmen to combine to use any lawful means to bring about an increase of wages or an improvement in the conditions of work; and it was understood that lawful means included peaceful persuasions by pickets posted to prevent non-strikers from going to work. Subsequent Governments remedied many defects in the earlier labour legislation, restricted the hours of labour of adult male workers in certain industries, and attempted to abolish the evils of the sweating system, the iniquities of which were revealed in a Report of a Committee of the House of Lords in 1890. Other changes were brought about in the conditions of local government, which was placed on a popular and representative basis by the institution of County Councils in 1888–89 and of Parish Councils in 1894.

The domestic political situation in the last thirty years of the nineteenth century was dominated by the Irish question. It had been hoped that Catholic emancipation would bring peace and contentment to Ireland, and the Emancipation Act was followed, in 1831, by the institution of Government schools, in which religious instruction was permitted by Roman Catholic priests. A Poor Law was passed for Ireland in 1838, and, after a struggle, an Irish grievance was diminished by the Tithe Commutation Act of the same year, which decreased the amount of money payable in tithes to the Protestant and Episcopal Church of Ireland. But an agitation for the repeal of the Union, which began about 1829, led to serious trouble at various times. Peel, in 1845, tried to assuage Irish discontent by nearly trebling an annual grant of £9,000 which had been made for many years to Maynooth College, a seminary for the education of Irish priests; but the grace of his measure was destroyed by an outbreak of religious bigotry which it provoked in Great Britain, and Peel had to withdraw other proposals for the amelioration of conditions in Ireland. The great famine of 1845–47, in which the Government did its best (not always wisely) to provide relief for the starving Irish peasants, was followed by an abortive rebellion in 1848, and, after the lapse of about a decade, by the rise of the Fenian organisation, created by Irishmen in the United States of America. The Fenians tried to bring about a rebellion in Ireland, made a ridiculous attempt at an invasion of Canada in 1866 and in the following year perpetrated a number of outrages in Great Britain, the most notorious of which was a dynamite explosion intended to destroy the prison at Clerkenwell, in London.

Gladstone, who was in power from 1868 to 1874, made a new attempt at pacification by two Acts passed in 1870. One of these disestablished the Church of Ireland, and the other, the first Irish Land Act, afforded protection to Irish tenants from arbitrary eviction, gave them the right of demanding compensation for improvements which they had made and provided loans to enable them to purchase their land. These measures did not prevent the revival of the demand for Home Rule, or the establishment, in 1879, of an Irish Land League, which encouraged a refusal to pay rent, and organised a campaign of lawlessness and crime which culminated in the murder of the Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, Lord Frederick Cavendish, and the Permanent Under-Secretary, Mr. Burke, in the Phœnix Park in 1882. Gladstone, who had again come into power in 1880, had passed a second Land Act to appease the Irish tenants and a Crimes Act to restore order in Ireland. He was dissatisfied with the results of the measures of coercion adopted in the Crimes Act, and had sent Lord Frederick Cavendish to Ireland to attempt some measures of conciliation. The murders necessitated a return to the policy of coercion, but Gladstone, and Lord Salisbury, who succeeded him in 1885, persevered in the endeavour to improve the conditions of Irish land tenure. A General Election in 1886 restored Gladstone to power, and he announced his conversion to the policy of Home Rule; but a large section of his supporters refused to follow him, and the first Home Rule Bill was defeated in the House of Commons.

A Conservative Government, under Lord Salisbury, attempted from 1886 to 1892 to "kill Home Rule by kindness," and succeeded in restoring order and in passing measures which largely increased Irish prosperity. Gladstone, then a man of nearly eighty-three, obtained, with the help of the Irish vote in the House of Commons, a small majority in a general election of 1892, and passed a second Home Rule Bill through the Commons, but it was thrown out by the Lords, and the Liberal Government suffered a decisive defeat in the general election of 1895. A Unionist administration held office for ten years, maintained order in Ireland and made a number of concessions to the Irish people, but the demand for Home Rule continued to be active, and a new opportunity for pressing it occurred in the political conditions of the last years of the reign of Edward VII.

The Unionist Government, which held office, under Lord Salisbury and Mr. Arthur Balfour, from 1895 to 1905, became very unpopular in its later years. Its policy in South Africa

evoked a fierce opposition; an Education Act which it passed for England brought about a great improvement in educational conditions but roused the antagonism between Nonconformists and the Church of England; and the Unionist Party was divided on a proposal, made by Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, to abandon the Free Trade principle and introduce a new customs tariff on the basis of a preference for goods originating in the British Empire. A Liberal administration under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was formed in the end of 1905 and had an overwhelming majority in a general election held early in 1906. The principal achievement of the Campbell-Bannerman ministry in domestic legislation was the Trades Disputes Act of 1906, which gave unquestionable legal sanction to "peaceful picketing" by providing that no action could be brought against a combination, either of workmen or employers, for damages resulting from a trade dispute.

In 1908, when Mr. Asquith succeeded as Prime Minister, a system of Old Age Pensions was introduced, and an Act was passed giving effect to a claim of the miners that work in coal mines should be restricted to eight hours a day for any one person. A serious situation was produced by the Budget proposals brought forward by Mr. Lloyd George, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1909. It was a convention of the Constitution that the House of Lords had no power of interfering with a Money Bill, but a majority of that House, asserting that the Budget was being employed to introduce changes in the law, rejected it, and a general election was held, the main issue being the powers of the House of Lords. The Liberal Government found itself dependent upon the Irish vote, and the Irish members insisted that the Government, after limiting the powers of the Lords, should introduce a measure of Home Rule. The death of King Edward VII, which occurred in May 1910, led to an attempt to find a basis of agreement on the constitutional question, but a Conference was held without result, and a second general election, which did not affect the balance of parties, was held in 1910. The Government, under the pressure of a threat to create a large number of peers, secured the assent of the House of Lords to the Parliament Act of 1911, which provided that a Money Bill should not require the consent of the Lords in order to become law, and that any Bill which passed the House of Commons in three successive sessions should also become law, even if it were rejected by the Lords.

Two Bills were brought forward in 1912 which it was intended to pass under the Parliament Act—a Bill for the disestablish-

ment of the Church of England in Wales and the third Home Rule Bill. Both had been passed in three successive sessions in the House of Commons by the summer of 1914, when the outbreak of the Great German War put an end, for a time, to domestic controversy. The Home Rule Bill met with fierce opposition from the Unionists of Ulster, who signed a covenant pledging themselves never to acknowledge the rule of an Irish Parliament, and made preparation to offer resistance by force of arms. When the War began, the leaders both of the Ulstermen and of the Nationalists agreed to a truce; and though the Home Rule Bill became an Act of Parliament in 1914, its coming into operation was suspended, and a pledge was given that an amending Bill would be introduced to deal with the position of Ulster. Domestic political controversy was never more bitter than in the summer of 1914, and a civil war in Ireland was averted only by the necessity of a united defence against the German attack upon the liberties of Europe.

## XIV

### THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EMPIRE

In the chequered history of the hundred years with which we are now dealing, nothing is more remarkable than the change in the conception of the British Empire which can be traced to the early years of the reign of Queen Victoria. The word "Empire," in its traditional significance, would not be applicable to the Commonwealth of free nations which exists to-day under the British flag, and it is perhaps the greatest achievement of the British peoples in the nineteenth century that they have given a new and nobler meaning to the familiar term. In the reigns of George IV and William IV the colonies were still regarded as the subjects of the mother country, and the Home Government maintained towards them the attitude of George III and Lord North towards the old American colonies. The ruler of the colonies was the Colonial Office in London, and its administration was at once autocratic and inefficient. Its defects were widely recognised at home as well as in the colonies, but many of its critics in this country were convinced that complete independence was the natural and inevitable goal of any colony and were content to allow events to take their course; whilst others, who would have welcomed any practicable reforms, clung hopelessly to the centralised autocracy because they

imagined it to be the only alternative to separations and disruption. Yet, when the supreme test came, British statesmanship, after some initial blunders, was able to meet it.

The crisis arose in Canada, which was not only the most prosperous and the most advanced of British overseas possessions, but afforded the special problem of the existence of two races and two languages. Upper Canada (Ontario), which had been colonised since the close of the American War, was definitely British, but the population of Lower Canada (Quebec) was chiefly French. The loyalty which the Canadians had displayed in the American struggle had again been shown in the war with the United States in 1812–14, but, by the date of the accession of Queen Victoria, French-Canadian discontent had deepened into rebellion, and British Canadians were also demanding freedom from the control of the Colonial Office. The Government of Lord Melbourne, acting on suggestions made by the Earl of Durham, who had been sent as a High Commissioner to Canada, resolved to set up in Canada a Government which should be responsible, not only to the home authorities but also, and more directly, to a Canadian Representative Assembly possessing powers similar to those of the British Parliament. The Canadian Act of Union of 1840 united the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and gave large, though still incomplete, powers to a popularly elected Representative Assembly. Twenty-seven years later, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick united with Canada to form a federated Dominion, and the British North American Act of 1867, which gave effect to the union, created a Canadian Parliament with wider powers. The area of the Dominion was subsequently increased by the addition of Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, British Columbia, and the North-West Territories, and it now includes all the British possessions in North America except Newfoundland.

The experiment tentatively tried in Canada in 1840 was thus extended to the other North American colonies and to the new colonies which were founded in Australasia in the first half of the nineteenth century. The system of convict settlements was not entirely abandoned until 1840, but its importance had much decreased by then, and free colonists had established themselves in New South Wales, in Western and Southern Australia, Victoria and Queensland, and in Tasmania and New Zealand. These colonies at first depended upon agriculture and sheep-farming, but minerals began to be worked about 1841, and a subsequent discovery of gold in Victoria and New South Wales brought about a large increase of immigrants.

Responsible government was given to the Australian colonies between 1842 and 1890, and in 1900 the states of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia. and Tasmania entered into a federated union as the Commonwealth of Australia, with full powers of self-government.

The latest addition to the number of self-governing federated Dominions in the British Empire was made, in remarkable circumstances, in South Africa. After the annexation of Cape Colony in 1815 there was a British immigration, and many of the old Dutch or Boer settlers gradually removed to Natal, and, when that became a British colony in 1843, to the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, which became two Boer republics. As early as 1854 there was a project for the creation of a Union of South Africa under the British flag, but the opportunity was lost, and relations with the Boer states became strained; in 1877 the Transvaal was annexed to the British Empire. Three years later the Boers declared their independence, and in February 1881 they defeated a small British force at Majuba Hill. Gladstone's Government decided to give way on the main issue, and made an agreement by which the Transvaal became an autonomous State under the suzerainty of Great Britain.

A discovery of gold in the Transvaal in 1884 led to many difficulties, for it was followed by a great influx of new settlers, chiefly British, who supplied the capital and created the organisation of the mining industry. By the British Convention with the Transvaal certain rights were guaranteed to such immigrants; but the Transvaal Government, an oligarchy guided by President Kruger, took alarm at the numbers of the "Uitlanders" and declined to admit the existence of these rights. The Uitlanders appealed to the British Government, but the chances of conciliation and agreement were destroyed in 1896 by an attempt by Dr. Jameson, an official of the new British colony of Rhodesia, to make a military raid into the Transvaal and bring about a revolution. The raid was easily defeated, and the conspiracy made Kruger adverse to any concessions. After a long series of negotiations the South African Republic, in alliance with the Orange Free State (which had hitherto been on friendly terms with the British), addressed an ultimatum to the British Government on October 9, 1899 denying the right of interference on behalf of the Uitlanders, and demanding the recall of reinforcements which had been sent to Cape Colony and Natal.

The war lasted for three years. The British armies suffered serious initial defeats, but in 1900 Lord Roberts captured Bloemfontein and Pretoria, the capitals of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, and announced the annexation of the two South African Republics. A difficult guerrilla warfare was maintained by the Boers until May 1902, when the Treaty of Vereeniging was concluded by Lord Kitchener, who had succeeded Lord Roberts in the command of the army, and Lord Milner, who had been High Commissioner to South Africa since 1896. It established British rule in South Africa, but the Boers were promised that the Dutch language should be retained in the schools, and that representative institutions and, ultimately, self-government, would be introduced at the earliest opportunity; and a grant of £3,000,000 was made by the British to assist the reconstruction of the country. The process of reconstruction gave rise to a bitter controversy in home politics about the employment of Chinese labourers in South Africa, and this controversy was one of the causes of the fall of the Unionist Government, the whole South African policy of which was condemned by a considerable section of British Liberals. When Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman succeeded Mr. Balfour, the Liberal Cabinet decided to confer immediately upon the Boer colonies the rights of self-government which had long been enjoyed by Cape Colony and Natal. The grant of a free constitution to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State was followed by a movement in South Africa for the creation of a federated union on the model of the Dominion of Canada and the Commonwealth of Australia, and the Union of South Africa was formed in 1909, including Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State.

The conversion of the colonies into sister nations of the mother country was, naturally, accompanied by a consciousness that a place must be found for them in the councils of the Empire; but no great development occurred in this connection until all the British peoples were engaged in the struggle with Germany. The first Colonial Conference was held on the occasion of Queen Victoria's first Jubilee in 1887, and, when Mr. Joseph Chamberlain became Colonial Secretary in 1895, he made it his policy to use such conferences for the closer union of the Empire. After 1902 these were held at regular intervals, but they continued to be only advisory councils, though their discussions were of great, and in some respects authoritative, importance.

While the conception of the character and position of the

English-speaking dominions was undergoing a revolutionary change, the extent of the other overseas possessions was being vastly increased. In India the area of British rule was enormously extended by a series of wars fought chiefly to protect the frontiers of British India and to maintain internal order. The Mahratta Confederacy was destroyed in the third Mahratta War of 1817–18; Assam was annexed after the first Burmese War of 1823–25; Sindh in 1843; the Punjab in 1849; and Burma in 1886. Besides these results of military conquest, other territories were annexed on the failure of heirs to their ruling houses or were forfeited for misgovernment.

The whole structure of British dominion in India was placed in grave peril in 1857 by the outbreak of the mutiny in the native army. The mutineers seized Delhi, besieged Lucknow and committed brutal massacres at Cawnpore and elsewhere. The recapture of Delhi and the relief of Lucknow are among the most stirring episodes of British military history. The mutiny was suppressed in a little over a year, largely by the efforts of Sir Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde), an old soldier who was sent out to conduct operations. After its suppression, the East India Company, which dated from the time of Queen Elizabeth and had been entrusted with wide powers in the government of India, was dissolved, and the administration of British India was assumed by the Crown. In 1877 Queen Victoria took the title of Empress of India. By 1858, when the territories of the East India Company were transferred to the Crown, the frontiers had, for the most part, been rendered secure, although minor military expeditions were necessary from time to time.

The chief anxiety related to Afghanistan, with which an unfortunate war had been conducted between 1839 and 1842. The British in 1839 adopted the cause of a claimant to the Afghan throne, and placed him in authority at Kabul, but in the winter of 1841–42 he was deposed, and a British force which supported him was destroyed, a disaster the effect of which was not entirely undone by a successful expedition to Kabul in 1842. A somewhat similar situation arose in 1878, when the Amir of Afghanistan was known to be plotting with Russian emissaries, and a British force invaded Afghanistan and placed on the throne a new Amir. There was again a rebellion, and the British agent at Kabul was murdered in 1879. Sir Frederick Roberts, who afterwards commanded in South Africa, was sent to restore British prestige, and reached Kabul, after an adventurous march. A suitable occupant of the

Afghan throne was discovered, and British relations with Afghanistan remained cordial from 1880 to 1918.

In the partition of Africa among the European Powers, which had begun in the eighteenth century and was a marked feature of the nineteenth, Great Britain made large acquisitions of territory. The explorations of David Livingstone between 1852 and 1873 led to the occupation of large districts of Central Africa. Annexations followed the Ashanti wars of 1872–74 and 1896, the Zulu war of 1879 and the Matabele wars of 1893 and 1896. The British South Africa Company was responsible for the colonisation of Rhodesia, named after its founder, Cecil Rhodes. In what is known as the " scramble for Africa," which began about 1875, Great Britain established protectorates over British Somaliland, British East Africa, Uganda, and Nyasaland in Eastern Africa in addition to possessions, some of them of older date, in Western Africa, including the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia, the last of which had been under British influence since 1783. In the north of Africa Great Britain established a virtual protectorate over Egypt and the Egyptian province of the Sudan.

Egypt, technically a province of Turkey, was in 1875 under a Khedive, Ismail, who reduced it to a state of insolvency. The British Government purchased from him his shares in the Suez Canal, which had recently been constructed by French engineers, and ultimately Great Britain and France undertook the reconstruction of Egypt. The Dual Control did not work well, and when a rebellion occurred in 1882, France took no share in its suppression by a British expedition, and the British agent became the most powerful official in Egypt. A rebellion in the Sudan in 1883 led Gladstone's Government to decide upon its evacuation ; in the course of this process the British Governor-General, General Gordon, was besieged in Khartoum, and before a relief force could reach him the city had fallen and its garrison had been murdered (January 1885). Thirteen years later the Salisbury Government undertook the reconquest of the Sudan, and it was accomplished by the Egyptian army under the leadership of Sir Herbert Kitchener, whose victory of Omdurman (September 1898) destroyed the power of the rebel leader, known as the Khalifa, who had succeeded to the Mahdi's dominions.

## XV

### A CENTURY OF FOREIGN POLICY

### (1815–1914)

A BRIEF survey of British foreign policy will bring us naturally to the outbreak of the Great German War. The victory of the last coalition against the French was followed, in the end of 1815, by a Quadruple Alliance of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia. Its object was to maintain the peace of Europe, and the Emperors of Austria and Russia and the King of Prussia regarded this aim as equivalent to the suppression of every symptom of a revolutionary tendency in any country; the last war had originated in the French Revolution, and the only safeguard of peace was, in their eyes, the maintenance of universal autocracy. Although the Government of Lord Liverpool (Prime Minister 1812–27) adopted repressive measures at home, it did not share the enthusiasm for reaction which distinguished its allies, and it declined to take part in suppressing insurrections in the Spanish colonies in 1818 and in Spain itself in 1820. When George Canning became Foreign Secretary, he recognised the independence of the South American republics which had thrown off the Spanish yoke, and he recognised as a belligerent Power the Greeks who were in the early stages of their successful revolt against Turkey (1823). At a later period of the Greek War of Independence, Canning, who was Prime Minister for a few months before his assassination in 1827, joined France and Russia in an attempt to compel the Turks to acknowledge Greek autonomy under a Turkish suzerainty, and an allied fleet [1] defeated the Turks and Egyptians in the battle of Navarino.

The liberal tendency of British foreign policy was modified under the ministry of the Duke of Wellington (1828–30), and it was left to Russia to help the Greeks to secure complete independence; but in other connections Wellington proved himself no blind reactionary. The rule of the restored Bourbons had never been popular in France; and when the older branch of the family was expelled in 1830, Wellington at once recognised Louis Philippe as King of the French. He also perceived that the Congress of Vienna had made a blunder in uniting Roman Catholic Belgium with Protestant Holland, and, when the Belgians revolted in 1830 and demanded inde-

[1] Of British, French and Russian vessels.

pendence, Wellington was prepared to support their claim, though the actual negotiations for the creation of the Kingdom of Belgium and for European guarantees of its neutral status were carried out by Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Minister in Lord Grey's administration.

After Queen Victoria came to the throne, she did much to assist the pacific policy of her ministers by a series of State visits to European monarchs; such visits were novelties at the time and were accepted as high compliments, and they were valuable aids to diplomacy in the European conditions of the middle of the nineteenth century. These royal visits were specially important in British relations with France, where the tradition of hostility to "perfidious Albion" was, naturally, very strong. The position of the "citizen king," Louis Philippe, was never very safe, and he was tempted to imperil the continuance of friendly relations by ambitious strokes of foreign policy. When the rest of the European Powers interfered to protect Turkey from the revolt of Mehemet Ali, the Turkish Viceroy of Egypt—an incident which led Great Britain to seize Aden in 1839—France made difficulties by showing sympathy with the rebellious Viceroy; and, at the end of his reign, Louis Philippe created great suspicion by intrigues to marry the young Queen of Spain to the candidate for her hand who was supported by the French. A revolution in 1848 deposed Louis Philippe and brought about a short-lived Second Republic in France, under the presidency of Prince Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the great Emperor. In 1851 Louis Napoleon, by a reactionary *coup d'état*, obtained complete control of the Government, and, in the following year, he became the Emperor Napoleon III. While the other Powers held aloof from the new Emperor, Queen Victoria at once gave him full recognition and entered into cordial personal relations with the monarch, whose accession had been approved by a *plébiscite* of the French people.

In 1854 Great Britain and France made an alliance against Russia, which led to the Crimean War. The Russians were avowedly aiming at the destruction of the Ottoman Empire and the seizure of Constantinople, an event which would have been a menace to the safety of British India, and they offended the French by demanding that the Tsar should be recognised as the protector of the Christians in Turkey and Syria, a position which had traditionally been claimed by France. In 1853 the Russians invaded Turkey, and they ignored a Franco-British ultimatum demanding the withdrawal of the Russian

troops. War was declared in April 1854, and British and French forces were sent to Varna, in Bulgaria. Then the Russians, under pressure from Austria, did withdraw from Turkey, but both Britain and France were bent upon war, and it was argued that the peace and safety of Europe depended upon the destruction of the fortress of Sevastopol in the Crimea. The fortress was captured, after a year's campaign, in the course of which the Allied forces won the battles of the Alma and Inkerman. In 1856 Russia, by the Treaty of Paris, promised not to interfere in Turkish affairs except as a member of the Concert of European Powers, and agreed that the Black Sea should be neutralised ; and the Turks undertook to give better treatment to their Christian subjects. No one of these undertakings was kept for any length of time.

The period of cordial relations with France came to an end with the Crimean War. Napoleon III was suspected of secret dealings with Russia ; he was known to entertain an ambition of giving France the dominant place in European politics ; and he was surrounded by a French military party which openly expressed hostility to the traditional enemy. For some years there was an apprehension in this country of a sudden French attack and an attempt at invasion, and in 1859–60 a large Volunteer Force came forward spontaneously to undergo training for home defence. Meanwhile France, in 1859, assisted the Italians in the struggle for Italian unity and the expulsion from Italy of the Austrians, to whom the Congress of Vienna had given Venice and Lombardy. Great Britain, in spite of a deep popular sympathy with the Italians, remained neutral during the war.

Neutrality was also maintained, in circumstances of greater difficulty, during the Civil War in the United States of America (1861–65), which originated in disputes about the continuance of the institution of slavery in the southern states, and developed into a struggle in which the Confederated Southern States asserted, and the Federalists of the North repudiated, the right of the southerners to recede from the Union. Popular sympathy was with the North, in spite of the fact that the cessation of cotton supplies produced great industrial distress in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire ; but the Government of Lord Palmerston was generally suspected of leanings towards the South. Two unpleasant incidents occurred. A Federal warship searched a British vessel, the *Trent*, and seized the persons of two Confederate delegates who were on their way to Europe. The British Government prepared to take strong measures in

view of this unquestionable breach of international law, but Queen Victoria's husband, the Prince Consort, then within a few weeks of the end of his life, suggested a modification of the British protest, which enabled the Americans to find a peaceful solution of the difficulty. In the other famous incident Great Britain was clearly in the wrong, for official negligence allowed the *Alabama*, a steamer built at Birkenhead for the Confederates, to leave the port without ascertaining the use to which she was to be put. As a privateer the *Alabama* did great damage to Federal vessels, but the controversy was ultimately settled by arbitration, as a result of which the American Government received a large sum in compensation. The war ended in 1865 with the triumph of the Federals.

The balance of power in Europe was entirely altered by the Franco-German War of 1870–71. The settlement of 1815 had made Austria the leading Power in Central Europe, but it had also conferred large territorial acquisitions upon Prussia, and the Prussians aimed at driving Austria out of the German Confederation. In 1864 Austria and Prussia, in alliance, seized and divided the Danish duchies of Sleswig and Holstein, the latter of which had a German population. Two years later Bismarck, the greatest of Prussian statesmen, picked a quarrel with Austria, and the Austrians were defeated in a six weeks' war. By the terms of peace Austria ceased to belong to the German Confederation, and Prussia was increased by the annexation of an ally of Austria, the kingdom of Hanover, which, on the accession of Queen Victoria, had ceased to be connected with Great Britain.

Prussia thus became the greatest German Power, and in a quarrel with France in 1870 the other German states supported Prussia. The German Chief of the Staff, von Moltke, obtained a comparatively easy victory over the badly equipped French army, Napoleon III had to surrender and a revolution in Paris put an end to the Second Empire. While the German armies were engaged in a siege of Paris, the formation of the German Empire was proclaimed at Versailles, the palace of Louis XIV, and William I of Prussia became the first German Emperor. After the capitulation of Paris the French, by the Treaty of Frankfort, had to pay a large indemnity and were compelled to surrender the province of Alsace, which had been French for more than two centuries, and portions of Lorraine, which had also been long in French hands. The annexation was carried out in spite of strong protestations by the people of the provinces, who never became reconciled to German rule.

The German Empire at once became a grave danger to European peace, and in 1875 it required the intervention of Queen Victoria and the Tsar Alexander II to prevent the Germans from making a fresh attack upon France, whose rapid recovery under the Third Republic led them to complain that they had only half beaten their enemy. British feeling, up to 1870, had been very friendly to Prussia; there was a great community of interests among British and German scholars and men of science; and the liberal party in Germany, which, from 1815, had maintained a conflict with the reactionary rulers of the German states, had been accustomed to receive sympathy from Great Britain. The severity of the German terms in the Treaty of Frankfort and the bellicose attitude of the new German Empire began to operate in severing these bonds, and as time went on it became evident that the glory of military conquest had persuaded the German peoples to surrender themselves to the rule of an ambitious and unscrupulous military autocracy.

These things were to bear fruit in the not far distant future, but meanwhile the attention of the British Government was absorbed by our relations with Russia, which was again meditating the destruction of the Turkish Empire and was also giving cause for suspicion of hostile intentions towards British India. Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria gave Russia an excuse for intervention and created a strong anti-Turkish feeling in this country; but in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 the Cabinet of Lord Beaconsfield supported Turkey and threatened hostilities in the event of a Russian occupation of Constantinople. For some time war with Russia seemed imminent; but Lord Beaconsfield succeeded in bringing about a European Congress at Berlin to discuss a treaty which had been made between Russia and Turkey and to consider other questions relating to the Balkans. The Berlin Congress of 1878 admitted an extension of Russian territory, recognised Romania, Serbia, Bulgaria and Montenegro as completely independent of Turkey, and gave Austria the protectorate of the two Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Hercegovina, the population of which was chiefly Slav. The European settlement did not remove all danger of a Russian war, for the policy of Russia in Central Asia continued to create alarm for about another decade.

Up to the time of the South African War of 1899–1902 Great Britain maintained a consistent attitude of what was described as "splendid isolation" in foreign policy. Meanwhile the quarrel between Germany and France had divided the Con-

tinent into two rival systems of alliance. After the Franco-German War, Germany had founded the League of the Three Emperors (Germany, Austria and Russia), but there was a divergence of interests between Austria and Russia, and Germany had to choose between her two allies. She chose Austria, and she soon widened the scope of the Austro-German alliance so as to include Italy, which had attained unity in 1870. There was still an Italian population, on the borders of the kingdom of Italy, which was under Austrian rule, and there were, therefore, reasons for the continuance of the traditional enmity of the Italians to Austria. But Bismarck, by fomenting differences between France and Italy, drew the Italians into the Triple Alliance ; it was concluded about 1882, but its existence did not become generally known until 1887. Until the accession of the Emperor William II to the German throne in 1888, and the dismissal of Bismarck two years later, Germany maintained a friendly understanding with Russia, but after that date the policy of the German Government began to show an anti-Russian tendency, and so strengthened a sympathy between France and Russia which had been growing up for some time, and was being confirmed by large French loans to Russia. In 1895 France and Russia formed the Dual Alliance, as a defensive league against German aggression.

In the course of the Boer War the British Government was impressed by the general attitude of hostility shown by the European nations, and in 1902 a great departure was made from the traditions of British diplomacy by the conclusion of an alliance with Japan to protect British interests in the Far East. Two years later Great Britain and France entered into an *Entente Cordiale* in which the two Governments reached an understanding upon all questions of dispute, and arranged a compromise where British and French interests conflicted in any part of the globe. The Entente was not an alliance against Germany, but it owed its origin to the alarm caused by German military preparations. In 1900 William II began to realise his ambition of creating a great German navy, and the German Navy Act of that year openly announced the intention of the Reichstag to build a navy capable of meeting the British navy on equal terms. The Germans were also engaged in increasing their army, and were thus offering a menace alike to the French and the British. In 1907 Great Britain came to a friendly understanding with Russia about their respective spheres of influence in all parts of the world, and though the British Government did not join the Dual Alliance and even remained in

ignorance of its terms, it was, after 1904, ranged with France and Russia in the discussion of international problems.

Meanwhile Germany persistently increased her armaments, both naval and military, and attempted to break up the Entente both by public threats of war and by private intrigues intended to detach the Tsar from his alliance with France. In 1905 the Emperor William went in person to Tangier and proclaimed the hostility of Germany to a recent agreement between France and Spain about their respective spheres of influence in Morocco. France averted the danger of war only by the humiliating expedient of dismissing the Foreign Minister who was responsible for the conclusion of the Entente. A European Conference was held at Algeciras, and Germany, after further threats, finding that Austria-Hungary was her sole supporter, assented to a peaceful settlement in the spring of 1906. In the preceding summer, at an interview near Björkö, in the Baltic, William II had obtained the adhesion of the Tsar Nicholas II to a secret compact between Russia and Germany, but the Tsar was urged by his ministers, and willingly consented, to repudiate the agreement.

In 1908 the violent diplomacy of the Germans scored a distinct success. Seizing the opportunity of a revolution in Turkey, the Austrians annexed the provinces of Bosnia and Hercegovina, the protectorate of which had been entrusted to them by the Congress of Berlin. This was a definite challenge to Russia as the rival of Austria for the control of the Balkans, but Great Britain declined to give more than diplomatic support in the quarrel, and Russia acquiesced in the Austrian breach of the Treaty of Berlin. The last of the " war scares " which preceded the outbreak of the Great War took place in 1911, when Germany suddenly re-opened the Morocco question and sent a German cruiser to Agadir. The British Government openly declared its intention of supporting France, but the French agreed to give compensation to Germany elsewhere, and the inevitable conflict was postponed. An incidental result of these successive German threats was the conclusion of agreements between French and British military and naval experts as to the plan of campaign to be adopted in the event of the two countries being forced into a war with Germany ; but up to the summer of 1914 Great Britain had entered into no military alliance and was under no written obligation to intervene in a Franco-German conflict.

# SECTION II. THE GREAT WAR

# THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE

## XVI

### THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

When, at the end of June 1914, news reached London of the murder on the 28th of the Austrian heir-apparent at Sarajevo, it is safe to say that hardly anyone connected that event with any possibility of war between Great Britain and Germany. The temper of the whole country was never more pacific; and within the last few days there had been a whole series of minor events suggesting that the leaders of pan-Germanism had decided to abandon the policy of "mailed fist" and "shining armour," and to seek their place in the sun by friendly agreements. The celebrations that followed the widening and deepening of the Kiel Canal (June 23–25) had been attended by a British naval squadron, and its commander had entertained upon his flagship not only the German Emperor (in the uniform of a British admiral) but also the President of the German Navy League. At a banquet given in Guildhall to a deputation of German manufacturers the speech of the day had been delivered by Herr Dernburg, whose earlier activities as Colonial Minister had for a time threatened peace. Prince Henry of Prussia was enjoying an apparently friendly visit to England. And indeed for three weeks more it seemed that the Foreign Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, was working hand in hand with the German Ambassador to prevent hostilities in Europe, and that these efforts of the greatest naval and military Powers had a good chance of success. It was small wonder, then, that the British nation saw a more urgent cause of anxiety in the state of Ireland, and that public interest became centred on a new attempt at settlement.

Returning on July 18 from Spithead, where he had reviewed the most powerful fleet ever gathered together, King George summoned representatives of the different shades of Irish opinion to meet three days later in conference at Buckingham

Palace. The high hopes engendered by the royal message were dashed to the ground on July 24, when the conference broke up without arriving at any settlement; but by that time general attention was again diverted to Eastern Europe. Austria had on the previous day issued to Serbia an ultimatum which no independent Power could conceivably accept, and Germany, refusing to support Great Britain in averting hostilities by diplomatic intervention, had in part thrown off the mask and no longer could be regarded as a whole-hearted advocate of peace.

Events now moved rapidly. Austria declared war on Serbia on July 28, and bombarded Belgrade on the following day. Russia mobilised her forces to meet this obvious threat and on August 1 received a declaration of war from Germany, who was gathering the bulk of her forces on the frontiers of France, Russia's ally. On Sunday, August 2, German troops entered France and Luxemburg; on August 4 they attacked Liége, and Great Britain (who had ordered mobilisation at 11 a.m. on the previous day) declared war the same night.

The decision of the British Government was not taken without the fullest measure of deliberation; indeed, there was a strong opinion expressed in French and Russian circles that if Britain had from the first ranged herself firmly upon their side, Germany might have hesitated and war been averted. Such a view was seen to be baseless in the light of later revelations, for Germany was already too deeply involved to turn back; and if Great Britain shrank from taking up arms except in the last resort, throughout the week of feverish diplomatic activity that began on Sunday, July 26, she left no stone unturned to save the peace of Europe. At each more gloomy change in the situation Sir Edward Grey was ready with some new proposal to avert the tragedy, and each time the stumbling-block was Berlin. Even when Germany had made an impudent bid for British neutrality, asking her to forsake her obligations to Belgium and to sit still while France was wantonly crushed, the effort was still continued and a fresh solution suggested in an international council. King George himself sent personal messages to the German Emperor and to the Tsar of Russia, but without avail.

The British public was kept well informed of the issues. On July 27 the seriousness of the situation was fully explained by Lord Crewe in the House of Lords and by Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons. At once party strife was laid upon one side by general agreement, and a free hand given to the

Government to deal with the crisis. The Irish Home Rule Bill, which had threatened to divide the nation, was passed by mutual consent, on the understanding that it should only come into force, with amendments in various directions, six months after the end of the war. The week-end from July 31 to August 4, which included the August Bank Holiday on the 3rd, was a time of tense anxiety throughout the country. On one side was the imminent horror of a war far more deadly than any ever seen by that generation, on the other the fear of a dishonourable peace. The sudden outbreak of hostilities in Europe had already led to a financial crisis of the greatest difficulty. Markets were upset, the Bank rate rose to 10 per cent. (the highest since 1866), and on the Saturday the Stock Exchange adjourned indefinitely. The Cabinet was known to be in constant deliberation ; there were disquieting rumours of divided counsels. The result was announced by Sir Edward Grey on Monday in a speech worthy of the occasion. In plain, straightforward language, without a trace of passion or straining after effect, he calmly explained the existing situation. He recounted the successive efforts of the Government on behalf of peace. There had been no secret diplomacy, and there was no actual offensive or defensive alliance with France. Certain plans had been drawn up for co-operation between the two armies, to be used if occasion arose and if the nation sanctioned such a course. In accordance with the Entente the main French fleet had been withdrawn to the Mediterranean, where it looked after the interests of both countries. The Government had therefore, in return, given France an assurance that the British navy would protect the French coast and French shipping on her Atlantic seaboard against aggressive action by the German fleet. Beyond that Britain had no binding obligations to France. But the case of Belgium was different, and he quoted the deliberate opinions of the most peaceable Liberal ministers of the past as to the binding character of the Treaty of 1839, whereby Great Britain, with Germany and other Powers, guaranteed her neutrality. The Government had already enquired whether Germany and France were prepared to support that pledge. France had at once assented, Germany had avoided the question. That very day news had arrived that Germany had demanded a passage through Belgium and King Albert had appealed to Great Britain for intervention. In the opinion of the Government, if Belgium's neutrality were violated, Great Britain could not honourably stand aside.

The speech not only won the almost unanimous support

of the House, but allayed all differences in the country. The narrowing of the final issues to the question of Belgian neutrality had the effect of uniting the most divergent streams of political thought. That the greatest military power in Europe should contemplate a wanton attack upon a small state whose neutrality she herself had guaranteed roused all the latent chivalry of the nation. Even those who believed that the British nation could safely remain spectators of a struggle between France and Germany upon their mutual frontier were determined not to allow the latter to secure an iniquitous advantage by violating the law of nations. But the most potent factor of all was the general revolt against the cold-blooded cynicism of the whole German attitude: Germany had not only herself torn up her "scrap of paper," but confidently looked to Great Britain similarly to dishonour her bond, if it were made worth her while to do so.

The position on the Belgian frontier was still uncertain, and there were optimists who had not yet relinquished hopes of a pacific solution. But Tuesday's news of German concentration at Malmédy called for immediate action, and Sir Edward Goschen, the British Ambassador in Berlin, was instructed to ask the German Government whether it intended to respect the Belgian wishes for neutrality; he was to demand a categorical answer by midnight, and, failing a satisfactory reply, was to return home. The German Government did not wait for the stated time to elapse, but at once handed the Ambassador his passports. That same evening special editions of the papers announced to an expectant nation that Britain was at war.

The attitude adopted by individual members of the Cabinet at different stages of their protracted deliberations was not officially disclosed. When the final rupture came, two members resigned. Lord Morley and Mr. John Burns, who had arrived at a pacific philosophy by widely different paths, said and did nothing to embarrass their colleagues; but seeing the whole world for which they had worked turned upside-down, and being unable to attune their minds to the new conditions, they silently relinquished the task to others.

The general situation was aptly summed up in the dignified message issued by King George to the Dominions, in answer to the spontaneous offers of help in men, ships, money and kind, which at once arrived from every part of the Empire: "The calamitous conflict is not of my seeking. My voice has been cast throughout on the side of peace. My ministers earnestly

strove to allay the cause of strife and to appease difficulties with which my Empire was not concerned. Had I stood aside when, in defiance to pledges to which my Kingdom was a party, the soil of Belgium was violated and her cities laid desolate, when the very life of the French nation was threatened with extinction, I should have sacrificed my honour and given to destruction the liberties of my Empire and of mankind. I rejoice that every part of the Empire is with me in this decision. . . ."

## XVII

### FIRST MEASURES AT HOME

THE feeling of the whole country exactly reflected the sentiments expressed by its King. Nobody wished for war, but since war was thrust upon them, all classes were united in a common desire to help by their utmost endeavours to bring it to a quick and victorious issue. The party truce in the political world found an echo throughout the nation. A strike in the building trade, which had reached a deadlock in July, was at once abandoned, and incipient disputes in the dockyards and coal mines similarly died away. There was no disorder of any kind, and even Ireland seemed to have relapsed into tranquillity with the definite promise of Home Rule at the close of hostilities. The Government therefore had a perfectly free hand in framing measures to meet the emergency.

Apart from novel and military requirements, rapid action was obviously necessary to prevent wholesale disturbances in the financial and industrial world. While credit remained sound, the stoppage of remittances from abroad rendered it necessary to husband the gold resources of the kingdom and to relieve the accepting houses; and at the same time there was a danger of a decrease of imports. This part of their problem the Government promptly and successfully tackled. The Bank Holiday, which fell on August 3, was extended over the three following days, and when the banks reopened a supply of £1 and 10*s.* notes had been provided. A *moratorium*, postponing payments for "certain bills of exchange," was proclaimed, at first for a month, but later extended into October; and the discount of stated bills was guaranteed by the Government. The tendency to hoard gold and food was quickly stopped; in three days £6,300,000 in gold were paid into the

Bank, and speculation in food was checked by the temporary enforcement of maximum prices. To encourage imports the Government took over 80 per cent. of the risks of trading vessels.

On August 10 was passed the first Defence of the Realm Act, famous in its later manifestations as DORA, giving to the King in Council very wide powers to make regulations for the prosecution of the war. Originally dealing mainly with espionage, giving information to the enemy, damage to railways, etc., it blossomed out in the course of the war into a mass of regulations intimately affecting the domestic life of every household. A vote of credit for £100,000,000, not only for naval and military purposes, but for the relief of civil distress, was passed without opposition.

The leakage of news to the enemy was prevented in a wide variety of ways. Not only was a rigid press and postal censorship established, but all wireless telegraphy and signalling apparatus were taken over by the Government, and owners of homing pigeons were registered. A Press bureau was established as a filter for news from the Continent and a channel for official statements at home, and passed after a brief career under Mr. F. E. Smith into the hands of Mr. Buckmaster, and ultimately into those of a trained journalist, Sir Edward Cook. The censorship met with considerable criticism; clearly with a large improvised staff uniformity of treatment could not at once be assured, and there was a natural tendency to err on the side of reticence, which in turn gave birth to alarming rumours. But it had this positive success to its credit, that the British Expeditionary Force crossed the Channel between August 10–18 without the loss of a man, and the Germans were unaware of the fact till it was concentrated in its battle stations on August 21. On the day war was declared twenty-one known German spies were arrested, and of two hundred suspects some were at once interned, and the remainder kept under secret surveillance with a view to discovering their confederates or their channels of communication. It appears that a clean sweep was made of German spies, for the only cases discovered later concerned neutral aliens.

To facilitate military movements, the railways were taken over by the Board of Trade, assisted by a committee of railway managers. Already guards had been mounted on arsenals, railway bridges, dockyards, etc., by territorial troops and, in some cases, by boy scouts under their own scoutmasters, and a force of special constables, originally raised in the metropolitan

area but later extended to the whole country, patrolled the coast, roads, railways, gasworks, power stations and reservoirs.

In the more immediate prosecution of the war the first act of the Government was to appoint its fighting commanders. Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, who had made a great name for himself at recent manœuvres, was appointed to command the Home Fleets; and Field-Marshal Sir John French became Inspector-General of the Forces, which was understood to include the leadership of the Expeditionary Force. It was clear that Mr. Asquith could no longer double his part as Prime Minister with that of Minister for War, which he had only assumed to tide over a temporary Irish embarrassment and had never seriously filled. Lord Kitchener, who chanced to be visiting England, was on the point of returning to Egypt, and on August 3 had actually embarked on the Channel steamer when he was recalled to London by the War Office. It was not till two days of priceless minutes had passed that he was appointed non-political Secretary for War. The selection gave universal satisfaction, but the delay in giving the all-important War Office a head was an ominous indication of the reluctance of the peace-time Cabinet to come to a decision on matters of real moment. Parliament sanctioned the increase of the army by 500,000 men and of the navy and coastguard by 67,000. But it was soon made clear that these figures were to be attained by the old system of voluntary enlistment.

Up to a certain point the Government had done well. They had avoided a financial panic and industrial unrest. They had sent off recruiting with a swing. But all their measures were on the old stereotyped and expected lines. There seemed to be no realisation of the fact that a new world had arisen with new rules and new problems, which required new methods to meet them. They had not put to themselves squarely the main question, viz. we have so many men and women, and such resources, developed or capable of development: how can we use them to produce the maximum war-power in the minimum time? Yet the country was ripe for any sacrifice, and at that time, while patriotic fervour was at its height and each man was demanding to be allowed to help, any claim of the country upon the persons or property of its citizens would have been freely acknowledged.

The absence of any official guidance led to considerable overlapping and some misdirected zeal in the various war activities to which the nation at once devoted itself, but a vast amount of very valuable work was set on foot. Voluntary

Aid Detachments—a supplementary nursing service—daily gained recruits and strong detachments were vigorously training in every town and village. The Y.M.C.A., Church Army, Scottish and Catholic Churches, Salvation Army, and other organisations that were to minister to the comforts of the troops in every theatre of the war, gathered hundreds of helpers and generous subscriptions. Working parties were formed in every centre to make hospital requisites and socks and shirts for soldiers. Landowners vied with one another in free offers of land for camps, rifle ranges, etc.; many of the most famous houses in the country were equipped and handed over to the nation as hospitals, and luxurious yachts became hospital ships. Money was freely given by all classes. The fund inaugurated by the Prince of Wales for the relief of distress reached £400,000 in two days, and the first War Loan, which opened in November, quickly yielded 331 millions.

The industrial state of the country was most satisfactory. Destitution had reached a minimum and there was no unemployment except, for a time, in the cotton and fishery industries, where the surplus labour was soon turned into other channels.

In order to estimate correctly the methods taken for the expansion of the Navy and Army to a war footing, it is necessary to review very briefly the state of both forces at the outbreak of the struggle.

The Navy owed much to recent naval ministers who had refused to submit to the reduction of estimates by short-sighted economists, and at the critical moment it had a First Lord of the Admiralty and a First Sea Lord (Mr. Churchill and Admiral Prince Louis of Battenberg) who were not afraid of taking responsibility. The great review at Spithead in July was a lucky accident: the fleet, at Prince Louis' suggestion, was not dispersed, and as early as July 29 the vessels quietly moved to their battle-stations. Scapa Flow, in the Orkney Islands, became the headquarters of the Grand Fleet; other squadrons remained to guard the Channel, while lighter craft were based upon Harwich and Rosyth. The move was completed without misadventure, but any delay occasioned by waiting for Cabinet orders would have added seriously to the danger of the operation. On August 2 the Naval Reserve and Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve were called out, and on August 5 a number of cruisers were despatched to protect trade routes and drive the enemy from the seas. In a week German commerce was dead, and though a few enemy cruisers managed for a time to elude

capture, by the end of the year the seas were free and the German fleet remained in its own harbours. All this time there were many anxious moments. The rival fleets facing one another in the North Sea were of no great inequality in numbers, and the British harbours were singularly unprotected. In the supply of mines Britain was far behind, though it is difficult not to admire the sailor's condemnation of such weapons as unsportsmanlike contrivances to spoil a good battle. But the result amply justified the risks taken: the British Navy had fulfilled its purpose. The Navy quickly expanded both by taking over and arming merchant vessels and by the construction of new ships; its tonnage, which totalled about 2,500,000 tons at the outbreak of war, was increased to 8,000,000 tons before the Armistice.

On October 30 Prince Louis of Battenberg resigned his post on the ground that "his birth and parentage in some respects impaired his usefulness"; no man had done more to secure an initial advantage to his adopted country, and his departure was deeply regretted by the whole service.

Lord Kitchener's biographer records that his first remark on entering the War Office as its head was, "There is no Army!" and indeed for the task the country had to face the force at his disposal was ludicrously inadequate.

The British people had always refused to face the possibilities of being involved in a great European war in which it would have to fight for its existence, and had wilfully disregarded the warnings of its own military authorities. The only troops ready to be sent overseas at once had been limited to an Expeditionary Force of six divisions and a cavalry division, the creation of Lord Haldane. They were ready to do, and did, marvels, but they could not do impossibilities.

The Regular Army with the colours numbered, including the skeleton of the Expeditionary Force, about 250,000, but of these 110,000 were serving in India or at other stations abroad. To these could be quickly added the 220,000 in the Army Reserve and the Special Reserve. These were the only British troops legally liable for service overseas. It was clear that when the Expeditionary Force had been despatched to France, taking with them incidentally a valuable proportion of the War Office Staff, there would be little enough left to replace wastage in the field for a limited period, and to maintain the necessary establishments and depots at home. Behind the Regular Army was the Territorial Force of fourteen divisions,[1] a body

[1] Also Lord Haldane's creation.

of some 250,000 patriotic citizens who had given their spare time to military training, enlisted for home defence only. But it was estimated that six months' additional training would be required to render them fit for the field. Behind this again was a group of somewhat nebulous reserves—the invaluable Officers' Training Corps and registers of some 200,000 names of individuals who had had some previous training or possessed technical ability—a valuable stiffening for new organisations, but in no sense ready for immediate service. And after that nothing but the patriotic feelings of an uninstructed nation.

Yet for all the inadequacy of her forces to meet a situation wholly unexpected by the politicians, Britain had more than kept to her bond. In all the friendly exchanges of opinion between the British and French General Staffs no more was expected of her. Should she decide to support her ally in war, her main task was on the seas. For the land operations no more was required than her Expeditionary Force of 160,000 men to fill a small gap on the French flank and exhibit the solidarity of the alliance, while her territorials guarded her coasts from invasion. That Britain should ever place in the field an army equal to the vast conscript forces of the Continental Powers had never been contemplated, and that in four years she should become the predominant partner in the land operations of the victors seemed incredible.

On the day before the declaration of war the Army Reserve was called out and the Territorial Force mobilised, and the whole machinery went like clockwork. The Expeditionary Force was brought up to full strength, and advanced units began to cross the Channel three days after the declaration of war. Small though it was in numbers, it is safe to say that never had a force of such quality taken the field. In training, experience and field equipment, and above all in shooting-power, it was far superior to the short-service armies of the Continent, and the bulk of the senior officers had seen active service in South Africa or India. The ancillary services were equally efficient and proved capable of expansion, and in no war have troops been fed and clothed and their wounded tended with such regularity and despatch as was the British Army in France and Flanders throughout the campaign. The task of transportation had been carefully studied and in every detail the most sanguine expectations were fulfilled. The railway services were magnificently handled. The London and South-Western Railway, serving the two most important military centres of Salisbury and Aldershot, was given sixty

hours in which to make ready to despatch to Southampton 350 trains of thirty cars each; the trains were produced in forty-five hours. For three weeks seventy-three such trains were despatched and unloaded every fourteen hours. Passenger, pleasure and cargo-steamers were produced at a few hours' notice, and in twelve days four divisions of the Expeditionary Force had reached France without the loss of a man. The 4th Infantry Division, though perfectly ready, was held back for a few days, and the 6th for three weeks, owing to the strategic situation, the latter coming fresh to the crucial battle of the Aisne. The remainder reached their point of concentration near Le Cateau before the French expected them, and so punctual was their arrival that one train that arrived eight minutes late caused great heart-burning among the responsible officials.

The Air Forces of the Empire, though they had been kept to very small dimensions by financial exigencies, were equally efficient, and soon established the mastery of the air where they were employed. They had always been divided into two sections, the Royal Naval Air Service and the Army Flying Corps. At first the two worked well together, but with their expansion difficulties arose in administration, and for a long time the two competed against one another for men, machines and equipment. Moreover, their respective spheres were often difficult to define. In 1916, after much criticism, a Joint Advisory Board was established, but it was not till April of the last year of the war that the two were effectually merged and became the Royal Air Force.

If the Expeditionary Force carried out its obligations to the letter, the Territorial Force did more. The day after mobilisation most of the battalions moved to their allotted stations to guard the coasts. Within a month sixty-nine battalions, enlisted for Home Service only, had volunteered *en bloc* for service overseas. Early in September the East Lancashire Division embarked to relieve regular troops in Egypt, and before the close of the year three more entire Territorial divisions had been despatched to India. Picked Territorial Infantry battalions and Yeomanry were embodied in the 7th and 8th Divisions, formed mainly of returning garrison troops, and were in the thick of the fighting in Flanders from October onwards. The remaining Territorial battalions received a large influx of recruits and were soon duplicated into first- and second-line battalions; eventually a third line was formed to train recruits and provide drafts for the other lines.

Early in 1915 the second-line Territorials were sufficiently trained to take over home defence, and nine first-line Territorial divisions went overseas to take their place side by side with regular divisions in Flanders and in Gallipoli, and carry on the fight while Britain was developing her latent strength.

But however promptly the established forces had responded to the call, it was clear that much more was needed. The prophecies of the veteran Lord Roberts had indeed come true, and nothing less than a complete new army had to be produced in wartime. Lord Kitchener, having seen six divisions successfully transported overseas, at once set himself the task of increasing those six to seventy, with adequate reserves, which he calculated would reach their full strength in three years. In deciding the method by which these armies should be raised he took no part ; not only had his long absences abroad rendered him out of touch with popular feeling at home, but he felt that such a question must be solved by the Cabinet and not by his own War Department, which was more concerned with organising and training the recruits when they had been secured. As a beginning he decided to form six divisions, grouped roughly on territorial lines, which were to be complete with their own artillery and supplementary services. From each battalion sent to France with the Expeditionary Force a picked officer was left behind at his regimental depot to act as adjutant to the new " Service " or " Kitchener " battalion of his regiment, and, as commanding officer, either a surplus major or senior officer on half-pay was appointed. The remaining officers and the rank and file were to be secured by recruiting and training. As men came in, the number of divisions would be increased. Such a conception was an entirely novel one, and there were competent judges who doubted the possibility of forming an army on this hand-to-mouth system, or the value of troops thus formed. But recruits at once poured in, and within a month the total had exceeded 250,000. Under pressure of war and amid the general keenness the time necessary to turn a recruit into a trained soldier was immeasurably decreased ; in the following September a number of " Kitchener " battalions played a valuable part in the battle of Loos, and before the end of 1915 twenty-seven of the new divisions had gone overseas.

Meanwhile the response of the Dominions and oversea colonies to the German challenge had been magnificent. From all parts of the Empire poured in great-hearted offers of aid, eagerly accepted by the authorities at home. Canada at once set about raising and equipping two divisions for service in

Europe, and subsequently produced several more. Australia, New Zealand and Newfoundland, with other smaller colonies, immediately followed suit, and even South Africa sent a brigade, although she was heavily handicapped by serious troubles at home, as well as by having to provide troops for the fighting in German South-West, as well as East, Africa. Nor was less loyalty shown in India, where the great princes vied with each other in providing men, equipment and money on the most generous scale; whilst Indian troops were despatched in their thousands to the fighting-grounds of Europe, Egypt, Mesopotamia and even East Africa.

In all these activities of the Empire the Royal Family shared with untiring devotion. In October Prince Maurice of Battenberg, the King's cousin, was killed at Ypres; Prince Arthur of Connaught had gone to France in August on the staff of Sir John French, and in November he was joined by the young Prince of Wales, who had at last obtained permission to go overseas, and remained at the front with brief intervals for the remainder of the war. In November King George paid the first of his annual visits to his troops in France, and in the following February was with the Grand Fleet in the stormy northern waters. Queen Mary, with Queen Alexandra, was the head and front of every organisation for the benefit of the sick and wounded; and by her personal efforts and ability extended branches of her Needlework Guild into every corner of the Empire. The constant visits of the King and Queen to hospitals and, later, to munition areas, played an incalculable part in maintaining the *moral* of the nation, as their example in sharing the necessary hardships of war made the way more easy for others. When munition work was said to be hampered by excessive drinking, alcohol was banished from the Royal household: and, later, when the food problem began to be difficult, Buckingham Palace led the way in voluntary rationing. But the public activities of the King were only a small part of the burden of war-work he freely undertook: his rapid handling of official business and his considerate and tactful help at all times did much to lighten the difficult task of his ministers.

# THE MILITARY EFFORT OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE IN THE GREAT WAR

## XVIII

### 1914

Upon receiving the news that Germany had violated the neutrality of Belgium, Great Britain declared war an hour before midnight (August 4–5). Since 1906 an informal understanding had, as we have seen above, existed between France and ourselves that in certain eventualities we should support her on the seas with our fleet and on the continent of Europe with an Expeditionary Force, which it was generally assumed would not exceed six divisions and a cavalry division. This understanding did not commit either Government to definite action, but it had been agreed that the General Staffs should make arrangements for the possible co-operation of our little army with that of France, and this was done. It was commonly held, both in France and in Great Britain, that the prompt arrival of our Expeditionary Force in France, together with the relief which the co-operation of the British Navy would give to that country in ensuring the safety of her coasts and the maintenance of her sea communications with Northern Africa, would suffice to turn the scale against Germany in the event of a war between the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance. French estimates, which proved to be erroneous, of the strength of the armed forces which Germany could bring against France were adopted as a basis of calculation. Great Britain therefore entered on the war with the idea that on her part it would be a war of limited liability. Further, it was the opinion of the majority of experts that the war would be brief, as it was anticipated that the complex machinery of modern civilisation would not endure the strain of a prolonged effort.

Lord Kitchener, who became Secretary of State for War in Mr. Asquith's Government, had other views, and he, almost alone amongst European statesmen, foresaw that the war

would be prolonged and would tax all the resources of the Empire. In Great Britain preparations for the mobilisation of our Expeditionary Force of six divisions and one cavalry division were continued,[1] and the Territorial Force of fourteen divisions was embodied. As early as July 26, when the position became menacing, the dispersal of the Fleet, which had assembled for manœuvre, was countermanded, and on July 29 it was further warned to be in readiness for war. So the declaration of war found our Navy at its war stations and in a position to cover the despatch of the Expeditionary Force to France. The military mobilisation, as we have seen, went forward with great smoothness, the advanced parties landing in France on August 7, while the disembarkation of four divisions, the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 5th (formed into two corps under Sir D. Haig and Sir H. Smith-Dorrien), and a cavalry division, mainly at Havre, was completed by August 16, two divisions being temporarily retained in England for Home Defence until the Territorial Force should be able to undertake the guarding of our shores.

The British Expeditionary Force under the command of Sir John French assembled on the left of the French armies south of the fortress of Maubeuge and began to move forward on August 21. By then it had become evident to Joffre that his first offensive into Alsace and Lorraine had failed and that the Germans were moving in strength against his left flank; but he did not believe that they could be strong enough to resist his attack with his right, to march through Belgium in great strength, and at the same time to oppose successfully a great attack upon their centre. This last attack had begun on the same day as the British Army advanced, the French 3rd and 4th Armies moving forward into the Ardennes on August 21; on that day too the French 5th Army under Lanrezac was attacked on the Sambre about Charleroi by the German 2nd Army. There was still no certain indication that any great German force was moving through Belgium on the right of the 2nd German Army, and the British Army on the evening of August 22 reached positions in the neighbourhood of Mons expecting to move forward and attack the right flank of the German armies. That night news reached British Headquarters that the French 5th Army had been driven back from the Sambre, but that it hoped to fight successfully south of that river on the following day. Sir John French then agreed

[1] The actual mobilisation order was given by Lord Haldane, acting for Mr. Asquith, at 11 a.m. on Monday, August 3.

to fight defensively along the Canal de Condé on either side of Mons with his 75,000 men, expecting to be attacked by one or at most two German army corps. The brunt of the fighting at Mons on August 23 fell upon Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien's 2nd Corps (3rd and 5th Divisions) which was attacked by three corps (six divisions) of v. Kluck's 1st Army. Fortunately Kluck brought his forces into action piecemeal, being in ignorance of the fact that he was in the presence of the British Expeditionary Force, and at nightfall he had not succeeded in doing more than drive in Smith-Dorrien's outposts. At 11 p.m. that night Sir John French heard that the Germans had captured the fortress of Namur, that the French 5th Army was in retreat and that Lanrezac had opposite to him four army corps, one of which was moving round his left flank. In fact Kluck had the greater part of a fifth corps behind the four leading corps; and besides, three cavalry divisions which had been looking for the British Army coming from Lille could be rapidly brought against the British left, 220,000 men against 75,000. In these circumstances, Sir John French issued orders for retreat at dawn on the 24th.

By August 23 the 3rd and 4th French Armies had failed in their attack upon the German centre, and Joffre ordered a general retreat of the whole Allied line from Verdun westwards, pivoting on the French fortress, the British Army on the extreme left of this line being in the most exposed position and having the longest distance to retreat. The French Commander-in-Chief, at last informed as to the enemy's strength and appreciating that the object of the Germans was to envelop and crush the left flank of the Allies, proceeded at once to reinforce that flank, and ordered the formation of a 6th Army under Maunoury in the neighbourhood of Amiens, hoping to be able to attack the German right from the line of the Somme with the French 5th Army, the British Army and the new 6th Army. But the pursuit of the Germans was too rapid for the development of this plan. On August 24 Haig's 1st Corps got away from Mons without difficulty, but the 5th Division of Smith-Dorrien's 2nd Corps was put to it to escape from Kluck's clutches, and suffered heavily. During the 25th Haig with the 1st Corps retired east of the forest of Mormal and so became separated from the 2nd Corps and the bulk of the cavalry which had marched west of the forest on this day. German advanced guards attacked Haig at Landrecies and Maroilles and Smith-Dorrien at Solesmes. Haig again got away under cover of darkness, but Smith-Dorrien, reinforced by the 4th Division

which had just arrived from England and by Allenby's cavalry division, found himself with weary troops in the immediate presence of Kluck's army, including the three cavalry divisions recalled from their exploration westwards. Allenby having reported that his cavalry was too scattered to make it possible for him to continue to cover the retreat of the tired infantry, Smith-Dorrien decided that he could not without risking a disaster carry out Sir John French's instructions to resume the retreat, and issued orders to stand and fight on the position he had occupied west of Le Cateau. During the forenoon of August 26 Smith-Dorrien with three divisions and the cavalry withstood without much difficulty the attacks of Kluck's 4th Corps of two divisions and of the three German cavalry divisions, but the German artillery was steadily reinforced as other corps approached the battlefield on the flank of the 4th Corps, and about 1 p.m. Smith-Dorrien, having forced the enemy to deploy and cooled the ardour of the pursuit, determined to withdraw, in order to escape the envelopment with which he was threatened. The withdrawal began between 2 and 3 p.m., just as an attack by the 3rd German Corps developed against the 5th Division on Smith-Dorrien's right, so that this unlucky division again suffered heavily. The British casualties in the battle amounted to 7,812 in a force of about 50,000 men, and we left thirty-eight damaged guns on the field. For some thirty hours the 2nd Corps, as the result of the retreat in broad daylight from a battlefield in which it was closely engaged with an enemy in superior force, was in considerable confusion, and disaster might have followed had the enemy pursued promptly. But pursuit there was none. The experience of Mons and of Le Cateau induced caution in the German infantry, who did not begin to move forward till the morning of the 27th, when the British rear-guards were already many miles from the battlefield, while Kluck, in the belief that we were based on Boulogne and Calais, sent off his cavalry westwards to cut communications which did not exist. For the same reason he, on the 27th, marched his army south-westwards towards Péronne and Amiens, so that it came into contact with Sordet's cavalry corps, transferred by Joffre to our left flank, and with certain French Territorial and reserve troops, while the retreat of the British Army continued to be due south across the Somme and the Oise. This blunder of Kluck's, together with the delay which Smith-Dorrien caused by standing to fight, saved the British Expeditionary Force from destruction, for its retreat was not again seriously

molested, and it obtained time to re-form after its first desperate plunge away from the east of the German net.

On August 25 Joffre had begun the creation of the new army on his left flank, partly by transferring troops from his right and partly by bringing others up from Paris with the object of taking the offensive on that flank as soon as he should be able to attack in strength. He had hoped to be able to begin this manœuvre from the Somme, but his new army, the 6th, which was assembling under Maunoury east of Amiens, could not be completed in time to resist Kluck's advance, and after an engagement with the 1st German Army at Proyart on August 29 it had to fall back towards Paris, where on September 3 it came under the orders of General Galliéni, the Military Governor of the French capital. Meanwhile on August 29 General Lanrezac with the French 5th Army had turned about and successfully counter-attacked the 2nd German Army under v. Bülow near Guise, to the east of St. Quentin. This check to the Germans, while it delayed the French retreat and placed the 5th French Army in a position of some danger, materially eased the position of the British Expeditionary Force. In fact, on September 1, by which time Sir John French, after a very rapid retreat, had crossed the Aisne, it was no longer the British but the French 5th Army that was in the greatest danger; for on August 31 Kluck, having occupied Amiens, had swerved south-eastwards directing his march against Lanrezac's flank. On September 1 Haig and Smith-Dorrien's Corps, however, were once more united and the weary British infantry had been given some rest, so that the British Army was able to handle roughly Kluck's advanced guards in the forest of Villers Cotterets and at Nery, where the 4th German Cavalry Division lost the whole of its artillery; so by again delaying Kluck's march it was quickly able to repay the debt it owed to Lanrezac for his gallant action at Guise. On September 2 Kluck made one more attempt to get round the British left, the actions of September 1 having caused him to think we intended to stand and fight. But the only result of this manœuvre was to bring his right into contact with Maunoury's army at Senlis, while Sir John French crossed the Marne, blowing up the bridges behind him, without interference from the enemy.

By September 3 it had become evident, both to Galliéni in Paris and to Joffre at his Headquarters, that Kluck was marching not on Paris but towards the crossings of the Marne at Meaux and Château-Thierry, and that this line of march

would expose his flank to attack by Maunoury's army, which was by this time within the outer defences of Paris. Galliéni at once proposed to attack Kluck's flank, but Joffre doubted whether his offensive effort should be on a great scale and decided to undertake by the French 6th Army, the British Army and Maunoury's Army in combination. This he could not do until the French 6th Army had been further withdrawn from the danger of envelopment to which it had been exposed ever since its stand at Guise. The retreat therefore continued until the morning of September 5, by which time Kluck had crossed the Marne with the whole of his army except the 4th Reserve Corps. This corps on that day came into contact west of the Ourcq with Maunoury, who had been considerably strengthened, and was forced to fall back. Kluck thus becoming aware for the first time that Maunoury constituted a real danger to his right flank and rear. On this day, too, Joffre, having got the 5th French Army into a position where it could safely halt and turn about, issued orders for a general offensive by that army, the British Army and Maunoury's 6th Army. So on the morning of September 6 the British Army, which had halted at the end of the long retreat south of the forest of Crécy, joyfully turned northwards and found to its surprise that its advance was opposed chiefly by cavalry, who made no very strenuous resistance. Kluck had in fact sent back north of the Marne the two army corps which had been opposite to the British in order that he might overwhelm Maunoury and restore the menace to his flank. During the next two days Maunoury fought desperately west of the Ourcq, the reinforcements which he received from Galliéni to Paris just enabling him to hold his own against the increasing strength which Kluck deployed against him. Farther away to the east Foch with the 9th French Army was fighting as desperately to prevent the right of Bülow's 2nd Army and v. Hausen's 3rd Army from breaking through the French centre. Between them the British Army and the French 5th Army (now under Franchet d'Esperey) were advancing to the Marne, and on September 8 the latter inflicted a heavy defeat upon Bülow's left, while the British Army forced the passages of the Petit Morin, driving in the German cavalry and infantry detachments which had been left to delay them, and that night their advanced guards lay within a short distance of the Marne. On the morning of September 9 Bülow, fearing that his right had been outflanked and that the British Army was advancing into the gap between him and Kluck, decided to retreat,

and directed the 1st German Army to conform. The 1st and 2nd British Corps had indeed begun to cross the Marne before 7 a.m. on that day, and by threatening to drive a wedge between the two German armies had compelled the German right to retreat at the moment when Kluck was preparing to crush Maunoury. So the battle of the Marne was won and lost, and Germany's great scheme of conquest, which depended on a rapid decision in the west, was brought to naught at a time when the enemy had all but reached the gates of Paris. The little British Army had saved the left of the French armies from destruction and the capital of France from occupation, and had been one of the chief influences in deciding the German generals to retreat; but the retreat from Mons had aroused the British Empire to some realisation of the immensity of the task which lay before it. It was understood that our little army would not suffice, and at Kitchener's call orders had gone forth by September 13 for the creation of eighteen new divisions, whilst offers of help poured in from all parts of the Empire.

The British Army followed the retreating Germans across the Tardenois on September 10, 11 and 12, and on the 13th found them standing behind the Aisne. The British front in the battle of the Aisne extended from Bourg through Vailly to the outskirts of Soissons. Sir John French's Army now consisted of three corps and Allenby's cavalry, the 3rd Corps under Sir William Pulteney having been formed of the 4th Division and 19th Infantry Brigade during the latter part of the retreat from Mons. On September 13 all three corps forced their way across the river, but only Haig's 1st Corps succeeded in making material progress beyond it. The Germans had brought up reinforcements from Belgium and from Maubeuge, which had fallen into their hands on September 7, and had decided to retreat no farther. After fierce fighting Haig's 1st Corps and the French on his right were brought to a stand on the Chemin des Dames ridge, while the other two British Corps could not do more than maintain a footing on the north bank of the Aisne. The enemy therefore began a series of attacks intended to drive us and our Allies across the river; but these were all repulsed, and in the latter part of September the battle settled down into the deadlock of trench warfare. By then Sir John French had agreed with Joffre that the British positions on the Aisne should be taken over by French troops and that the British Army should be transferred to the Allied left flank. It was hoped that the British by moving through Flanders would be able to secure possession of Lille and come

down upon the enemy's right. So while the French were fighting hard in front of Albert and Arras, the British Army moved northwards and by October 19 was all assembled between Béthune and St. Omer. Ere this Allenby's cavalry, which had led the movement northwards, had driven German cavalry out of Hazebrouck; Smith-Dorrien's corps following moved round through Béthune, and with its right in touch with the French on the La Bassée Canal pressed a strong force of German cavalry back through Neuve Chapelle and reached the La Bassée—Lille road. Meantime Pulteney's 3rd Corps had occupied Bailleul and Armentières and secured the line of the River Lys, while Haig's 1st Corps marched northwards behind them towards Ypres.

While the British Army was thus trying to find its way round the enemy's right flank, the Germans were preparing for another great effort against the Allied left. On September 28 they began to besiege Antwerp, and in little more than a week the position of the Belgian fortress became critical. The traditional interest of Great Britain in Antwerp induced the British Government to make efforts to save the place. Mr. Churchill, then First Lord of the Admiralty, paid it a personal visit in order to hearten the defenders, and the half-trained and half-equipped Naval Division was sent to reinforce the garrison. Previous to this a detachment of Marines had been landed first at Ostend and then at Dunkirk, had occupied Cassel and entered Lille, but on October 3 they were withdrawn before the threat of the German advance. A more serious attempt to assist the Belgian Army was made when on October 6 the 7th Division under General Capper with the Cavalry Division under General Byng, the whole under Sir Henry Rawlinson, landed at Ostend and Zeebrugge. But at this time Great Britain was powerless to intervene in Belgium with sufficient force to save Antwerp, and the place fell on October 10. A remnant of the Belgians escaped along the coast, eventually halting behind the Yser; here they were reinforced by a division of French Marines, while Rawlinson's force marched in the direction of Ypres to join hands with Haig's 1st Corps. The advancing German forces consisted largely of Army Corps created since the outbreak of the war and of certain Regular Corps that had been moved northwards in the process of the general extension of the opposing lines which had been taking place ever since the battle of the Aisne, and had become known as "the race to the sea." This German movement was like that which had opened the war in the west, a race against time, and was designed to secure possession of the

coast of Flanders and Normandy before it should become necessary to transfer troops eastwards against the Russians.

The enemy occupied Lille on October 13 and thereafter developed heavy attacks upon Smith-Dorrien's 2nd Corps and Pulteney's 3rd Corps between La Bassée and Messines. The 2nd Corps was pushed back from the Lille—La Bassée road through Neuve Chapelle, but checked the enemy to the west of that place. The 3rd Corps, which had been reinforced on the Aisne by the 6th Division, held on to Armentières and the line of the River Lys ; but Allenby's cavalry, which after occupying Hazebrouck had advanced eastwards, were driven out of Messines and Wytschaete and off the ridge connecting these two villages. It was the loss of this ridge which created the Ypres salient, a name of ill omen to the British Army during the following years. Farther to the north along the Yser and round Dixmude the Belgians and French were struggling fiercely to stem the German advance, which ultimately was stopped here by the adoption of the old expedient of the men of the Low Countries—by letting in the sea.

By October 19 Rawlinson's forces, now in touch with Haig's 1st Corps, had come into collision with the advancing Germans, and the first battle of Ypres began. The crisis of this battle was reached on October 31, on which day the Germans had all but broken through Haig's front and forced their way down the Menin—Ypres road, when a fine counter-attack by the Worcesters recaptured the village of Gheluvelt, and enabled the front to be re-established. The worst was then over, for Foch, who had been placed by Joffre in general control of the operations in the north, was hurrying up reinforcements, while the Indian Corps, which had reached France and moved up into Flanders, had taken over the front of Neuve Chapelle from Smith-Dorrien's Corps, and so freed the infantry of that Corps to reinforce Haig's hard-pressed men and to assist in holding the line opposite the Wytschaete ridge. A number of picked Territorial battalions had also reached France, and certain of these came up in time to lend their aid in both battlefields. But the enemy still kept up his pressure on the Ypres front, and this culminated on November 11 in a great attempt to break through by the Prussian Guard. This proved to be the enemy's last effort, for the advance of the Russian Armies was too menacing to be longer neglected, and the Germans, adopting a defensive attitude in the west, proceeded to transfer every man who could be spared to the eastern front. During the latter part of November Haig's weary men were relieved in the salient

by French troops, and the campaign of 1914 ended in the west with the trench-barrier firmly established from the North Sea coast near Nieuport to the frontier of Switzerland. Manœuvre such as had been practised in former wars became impossible, and the military world found itself faced with a new problem.

While our principal land forces were fighting in France and Flanders the theatre of war had been extending gradually until it had become world-wide. Though we had not conceived of a war which would involve all the resources of the British Empire, we had prepared beforehand for action against such German colonies and possessions as lay within reach of one part or another of our scattered Empire, while the Germans had not been behindhand in preparing to encourage and aid revolt in such of our possessions as they believed were anxious to throw off the British yoke. As early as August 8 British forces crossed the frontiers of Togo (W. Africa) and occupied Lome, the whole of this German colony falling quickly into our hands. This was followed on September 7 by a combined naval and military attack in which French forces co-operated upon Duala, the chief harbour of the Cameroons, and the place was captured on September 27. A deliberate campaign for the conquest of the Cameroons was then planned and executed by Sir Charles Dobell. This was a serious undertaking involving protracted and difficult operations based mainly upon Nigeria, from which the bulk of the forces taking part in the campaign were drawn, and it was not until January 1916 that the last of the German troops were driven from the colony. On August 13, 1914 a British squadron bombarded Dar-es-Salaam, in German East Africa, and an expedition was organised in India for the capture of that colony. This expedition landed at Tanga on November 3, but the information on which the enterprise was planned proved to be faulty, both as to the local conditions and as to the strength of the German forces, and the attempt ended in complete failure, the expeditionary force being re-embarked on November 5 after suffering a severe repulse which cost us heavy losses.

On August 21 a column of German troops from South-West Africa crossed the frontier and invaded the territory of the Dominion. Encouraged by this, on September 15 certain of the Dutch Boers rose in rebellion, but Botha took prompt and energetic action against both the internal and the external enemy. Relying almost wholly upon his own resources, he, on September 18, occupied Lüderitzbucht in German South-West Africa, thus carrying the war into the enemy's territory.

On January 9, 1915 the last of the rebels in the Transvaal were captured, and three days later Botha occupied Swakopmund in German South-West Africa. The Germans, who had relied upon disaffection among the Boers as one of their trump-cards in the process of the dismemberment of the British Empire, had a rough awakening to the facts, for Botha's campaign, admirably conceived and resolutely carried through, went forward without a check, and on July 9, 1915 the German Governor with the remnant of his forces capitulated. Meantime an expeditionary force from New Zealand had, on August 29, 1914, occupied Samoa; and on September 24 a small force of British troops from North China under General Barnardiston had joined the Japanese troops engaged in attacking the German fortress of Tsing-tao, which capitulated on November 7.

Thus, with the exception of the unfortunate expedition to Tanga, these secondary enterprises, which depended primarily for their success upon the domination of the seas by the British Navy, were successful. But before the end of 1914 there appeared in the field a new enemy who constituted a great menace to our position in the East and required far more serious consideration.

The outbreak of the war found the German cruisers *Goeben* and *Breslau* in the Mediterranean. They succeeded in evading our Mediterranean squadron and, passing through the Dardanelles, took refuge in Constantinople, where they became nominally a part of the Turkish Fleet.[1] This was a clear indication as to which way the wind was blowing in Turkey, and it was with no surprise that the Entente Powers learned on October 29 that that Power had definitely become a belligerent and that Turkish warships had bombarded Odessa and Sevastopol. On November 3 the French and British Mediterranean squadrons bombarded the forts at the entrance to the Dardanelles, and on November 5 Great Britain and France declared war upon Turkey.

In preparation for such an eventuality an expeditionary force had been prepared in India and was promptly despatched up the Persian Gulf. This force landed in Mesopotamia on November 7 and captured Fao at the mouth of the Shat-el-Arab, its purpose being to influence in our favour the Arab tribes of the Persian Gulf and to secure the works and pipe-line of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, which furnished us with the only British supplies of oil. The Turkish forces in Southern Mesopotamia were ill-organised and ill-equipped and were easily overcome. On November 21 Basra was occupied,

[1] See pp. 209, 210 for details.

and on December 9 the Turkish troops were again defeated near Kurna and that place fell into our hands. Thus one of the outlets through which Turkey might with German aid have proved troublesome was successfully blocked. It remained to secure Egypt and the Suez Canal, and for this purpose reinforcements were sent out from the garrison of England to Egypt, and the Australian and New Zealand Expeditionary Forces, which had embarked on October 17 with France as their destination, were diverted to Egypt. Even at this early stage of the war it had become evident that Germany in securing Turkey as an ally had compelled us to disperse our forces and correspondingly weakened our effort in the main theatre of war. Further, she stood directly across the chief line of communication between France and Great Britain on the one hand and Russia on the other, thereby increasing greatly the military advantages which Germany and Austria drew from their central position. Divided forces are always strategically at a disadvantage in a struggle against a centrally placed enemy, but that disadvantage is increased tenfold if direct communication between the divided forces is not possible. Further, the entry of Turkey into the war and the world-wide extension of the theatre of operations threw a great additional burden upon the British Navy and upon our maritime resources generally. The Navy had secured the uninterrupted passage of the British Expeditionary Force to France and the regular flow of reinforcements across the Channel, and it had contained the main German Fleet. It now had before it the far more difficult task of driving the enemy's flag from the seas and maintaining sea communications throughout all parts of the Empire, a problem which the increasing activities of the German submarines and mine-layers made more and more difficult. The Navy was in fact at the outbreak of the war almost as ill-prepared to meet mines and submarines as was the Army to meet the conditions of trench-warfare. The Army in France was, as has been said, debarred from manœuvre by the establishment of the trench-barriers, and it had already become evident that the process of breaking through that barrier would be slow and costly. For all these reasons the question was being asked at the end of 1914 whether it would not be better to act defensively in the West and to find a way round the trench-barrier in offensive action in the East, which would open up communication with Russia, bring in on our side some of the wavering Balkan States, make our sea communications more secure, and completely encircle our enemies.

## XIX

### 1915

The winter of 1914–15 in Flanders was one of almost unrelieved suffering for the British infantry. Our Army had been trained and equipped for a war of movement and was wholly unprepared to meet the conditions of trench-warfare. In Flanders the trench lines had been thrown up as the exigencies of battle had dictated, and the wet and mud of winter had come before any regular system of defence could be established. The ebb and flow of battle had left the Germans almost everywhere in possession of the higher ground, and as in the lowlands of Flanders water is found just below the surface of the ground, the construction of communication-trenches in wet weather and in the absence of a sufficiency of sandbags was in most places impossible. Communication with the front line could therefore only be maintained at night, and all supplies and material had to be carried up by weary fatigue parties floundering through the mud. The parapets of trenches melted away under the constant rain, and the trenches themselves were little more than watercourses, so that the infantry, standing constantly in water, suffered more casualties in "trench-feet" than from the enemy's bullets, while there was added to this suffering and discomfort the moral strain of living in the presence of an enemy possessed of the right kind of weapons for trench-warfare.

The Germans had, in fact, no more anticipated the conditions of trench-warfare than had we, and the deadlock which that warfare involved was not of their seeking, for the whole basis of their plans of campaign was that a quick decision should be won in the West. They were, however, prepared for attack upon the great fortresses of France and of Russia, and they had studied more carefully than any of their opponents the lessons of the Russo-Japanese War. So when trench-warfare came upon them they had heavy artillery, high-explosive shell, trench-mortars and hand-grenades ready in certain quantities, and the means of rapidly manufacturing more. Further, when their attempts to take the Channel ports had failed, a defensive policy in the West was forced upon them. Therefore they were less concerned with the difficulties of attack in trench-warfare and with the restrictions of manœuvre than were the Entente Powers, who saw the enemy established in a dominating position in France and Belgium and had to consider how he was to be

driven out. The question was whether he should be driven out by direct or by indirect attack, and it was this question which divided the political and military strategists throughout the war into Easterners and Westerners.

The advantages to be gained by opening up direct communication with Russia were obvious, and there were many arguments in favour of attacking the weaker members of the opposing Alliance, particularly Austria; but were the Entente Powers sufficiently strong to make the Western Front secure and at the same time prosecute a great offensive campaign in more distant fields? Joffre and most of the French military authorities maintained that they were not, and in this view our own military authorities concurred.

Joffre desired to attack on the Western Front at the earliest possible moment and with all possible force. He argued that the Germans were in occupation of a great part of France, that near Noyon they were only fifty miles from Paris, on the Somme they were barely twenty miles from Amiens, the main junction connecting the British and French Armies in Flanders and Artois with the remainder of the French troops, while farther north they were little more than forty miles from Calais. At the beginning of 1915 he was assured of a definite numerical superiority over the Germans in the West, but the Germans had not nearly reached the limits of their man-power and they might at any time call a halt on the Russian front, and by reversing the process which they had carried out after the first battle of Ypres bring back troops to France. A successful German attack at any one of a number of parts of the Western Front might gravely cripple the Allied armies under his command, German guns might be brought up to within range of Paris or of Calais, or the enemy might again occupy Amiens. In short, the French Commander-in-Chief maintained that the Western Front must be a paramount consideration in Allied strategy, and that to make the position in the West secure it was necessary to drive the Germans farther back.

In view of what happened when the Germans attacked in force in the spring of 1918, there can be little doubt but that Joffre was right. Had the Germans made such an attack in 1915 before the military power of Great Britain was fully developed and before we had the supplies of munitions both to meet such an attack and to replace lost material promptly, the result might well have been victory for Germany. But at the beginning of 1915 there were many who believed that a position of stalemate had been reached on the Western Front.

Mr. Lloyd George in particular shared this view, and proposed that the greater part of the British Army should be transferred to the Balkans to aid Serbia in overcoming Austria. Joffre and Sir John French strenuously opposed this plan. The lines of communication to the Danube through Serbia were long, difficult and inadequately provided with railways, so that it was more than doubtful whether they could be made to maintain an adequate force, while the process of moving such a force to the Balkans must have taken many months, during which it would be unable to fight in either theatre of war—a situation of which the Germans would, by reason of their central position, be able to take prompt advantage. Mr. Lloyd George's proposal was therefore vetoed, but the lure of Constantinople was more powerful. Mr. Churchill maintained that the increased power of naval ordnance made it feasible to force the Dardanelles by naval action alone, and on January 13 won the support of the War Council to this view. The Grand Duke Constantine had been pressing for action by Great Britain against the Turks in order that relief might be brought to his forces fighting in the Caucasus, and a naval attack upon the Dardanelles appeared to be a suitable means of giving our ally the support for which he asked. Further, it was known that the Turks were preparing to attack our positions on the Suez Canal, and a direct threat to Constantinople appeared to be the best counter to Turkish enterprises against Egypt. The attack upon the Suez Canal was begun by the Turks on February 2, but was completely repulsed by the British troops under Sir John Maxwell on February 4.

For these reasons a naval attack on the forts of the Dardanelles by a combined French and British Fleet under Admiral Carden was begun on February 19. The outer forts were silenced and parties were landed from the fleet to complete the destruction without opposition, but on March 18 an attack upon the main forts was repulsed with the loss of the French battleship *Bouvet* and the British battleships *Goliath*, *Irresistible* and *Ocean* sunk, while the *Inflexible* and *Gaulois* were crippled. Land-forts had re-asserted their old superiority over battleships.

Before the last naval attack it had been decided to send to the Dardanelles a military expedition to assist the fleet by occupying the straits when it had forced its way through, and to this expedition the French had agreed to furnish a division. Sir Ian Hamilton left London on March 13 to take command, and arrived in time to witness the failure of the fleet. After this failure it was agreed that a military landing was the only alternative to the abandonment of the expedition, and the

Government, fearful of the effect of such a confession of failure on our position in the East, instructed Hamilton to make a military attack. The troops available were the 29th Division of regular troops withdrawn from our overseas garrisons, the Anzac Army Corps from Egypt, the Royal Naval Division, re-formed after the disaster of Antwerp, and a French division, a total of about 70,000 men. So we were gradually drawn into a second great offensive campaign at a time when we had not the resources for the successful prosecution of one. There was much to be said in favour of a carefully prepared combined naval and military attack upon Constantinople, delivered with adequate force, if a strictly defensive attitude could be adopted in the West and if the troops to be employed in the Dardanelles were not needed to make the Western Front safe. There is nothing to be said on behalf of a policy which committed us simultaneously to two such enterprises as an attempt to force a way to Constantinople by land and an attempt to break through the trench-barrier in Flanders.

Owing to defects in the organisation of the expedition, Hamilton had to put back to Egypt to rearrange his force, and he was unable to make his landing until April 25, when our men fought their way ashore with extraordinary gallantry and established themselves across the point of the peninsula at Helles and also at Ari Burnu, henceforth to be made famous by the prowess of the Australians and New Zealanders as "Anzac." But the enemy, fully warned by the previous naval attacks, had brought up some of his best troops and was assisted by German commanders and experts; and in the three battles of Krithia which followed the landing on April 28, May 6 and June 4, no material progress was made. The trench-barrier in Gallipoli as in Flanders made any other manœuvre than direct assault impossible, and both Sir Ian Hamilton and Sir John French were at the same time clamouring for more guns and more shells.

Sir John French, who was in general agreement with Joffre's strategical views, at first desired a combined naval and military attack upon the coast of Belgium, but on receiving representations from Lord Kitchener that neither the men nor the munitions required for this operation could be made ready in time, he abandoned this proposal and prepared to take his part in Joffre's plans. These plans comprised a grand attack by the British Army north of the La Bassée Canal and by the French northern group of armies under Foch on the front between the La Bassée Canal and Arras. The hope was that these attacks would win

Vimy Ridge and drive the Germans from Lille. In order that Foch might have the forces necessary for such a battle it was agreed between the Commanders-in-Chief that the British should relieve the French troops who had occupied the Ypres salient when Haig's men had been withdrawn from it after the first battle of Ypres. Sir John French had, at the beginning of 1915, received the 1st Canadian and the 8th, 27th and 28th Regular divisions, and so had a total of thirteen infantry and five cavalry divisions besides a number of selected Territorial battalions. These reinforcements allowed him to form his command into two armies, the first under Sir Douglas Haig and the second under Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien, and at the same time to extend his front gradually northwards into the Ypres salient.

As a preliminary to the larger operations Sir John French desired to give the British Army—which had, since the beginning of the war, with the exception of the short period of the advance to the Marne and the Aisne, been compelled to fight defensively—experience of attacks upon entrenchments, and for this purpose he had been carefully saving up artillery ammunition by strictly limiting the amount to be expended in the routine of trench-warfare. He directed Sir Douglas Haig's 1st Army to attack the German lines near Neuve Chapelle, an operation which it was hoped would place us in a favourable position for the further battle which we were to undertake later in co-operation with Foch. The battle of Neuve Chapelle opened on March 10 with what was in those days held to be a very heavy bombardment. The bombardment was followed by an infantry assault, which carried the village of Neuve Chapelle, but was soon brought to a standstill by the enemy's machine-guns. This battle first taught us the amount of ammunition required to prepare for an infantry assault upon entrenched lines and the difficulty of bringing up reserves at the right time through roads blocked by the debris of battle. On the whole, however, both the French and ourselves were impressed by the result of the bombardment, which was held to promise great things when we had more guns and more ammunition. Preparation for the greater battle, therefore, went forward.

The Germans, guessing what was on foot, were not slow to interfere with these preparations. On April 17 a portion of Smith-Dorrien's 2nd Army attacked and gained possession of Hill 60, on the southern front of the Ypres salient. The Germans immediately counter-attacked, and followed this up, five days later, with a diversion on a much larger scale. In order to obtain the troops he needed for the coming battle Foch had drawn

heavily upon the French forces in the northern portion of the Ypres salient. Against this weakened front the Germans launched waves of poison gas discharged from cylinders, and the French troops, who had no protection against this utterly unexpected barbarity, were overwhelmed, thus throwing open the flank of the 1st Canadian Division and creating for a short time a breach in the Allied line. Fortunately the Germans had not the troops at hand to take immediate advantage of their success, while the gallantry of the 1st Canadian Division and the 28th Division held the enemy at bay until reinforcements could be brought up and a new line covering Ypres be established.

But the second battle of Ypres, if it did not give the Germans all the success they might have attained had they been ready to follow up the first success gained by the employment of a method of attack which no civilised nation had conceived to be possible in modern war, left them in possession of Polygon Wood and the Broodseinde heights, thus making the Ypres salient more difficult to defend than ever, and greatly forwarded their purpose by weakening the forces and exhausting the meagre supply of ammunition which we were accumulating for our part in the battle which we were to fight alongside Foch. Nevertheless Joffre decided to adhere to his plans, and on May 9 the 1st British Army under Sir Douglas Haig attacked on either side of Fromelles, while the 10th French Army, commanded by General d'Urbal but under the direction of Foch, attacked on a much wider front from the Scarpe to the north of the Souchez. The British attack met with no success, for the preparatory bombardment had not been sufficient to destroy the enemy's defences or to overcome his machine-guns. Sir John French, however, felt himself bound by his agreement with Joffre and Foch to keep the enemy occupied on his front as long as possible, and after a short pause he resumed the attack at Festubert. The experience of Festubert was, however, but little more favourable than that of Fromelles, and the need of heavy guns and high-explosive shell became acute, more especially as the Germans renewed their attacks in the Ypres salient upon the 2nd Army, now under the command of Sir Herbert Plumer.

During all this fighting the strength of the British Army had steadily been increased by the arrival of reinforcements, which by the end of April included six complete Territorial divisions, so it was lack of shell rather than lack of men which forced Sir John French to bring the battle of Festubert to a close on May 25.

Meantime on our right Foch's men had been fighting their way up the slopes of the Vimy Ridge. Twice they gained a footing on the crest and the prize seemed to be within their grasp, but each time they were driven back, and at last, after a conference with Sir John French on July 18, Joffre stopped the battle and decided to prepare for a still greater campaign later in the year. In this campaign he proposed to renew the attempts to take the Vimy Ridge, while the British Army attacked on the left of the French 10th Army. These were to be important but subsidiary efforts, for the principal attack was to be made in Champagne, to the east of Reims. To obtain the French troops for this campaign he required the British Army to extend its front to the right and left and also to relieve de Castelnau's 6th Army on the Somme front. The remainder of the summer was occupied by these changes, which became possible as the New Army Divisions arrived. The first of these, the 9th, began landing in France on May 9, just six months after its creation. Eight had reached France before the end of July, so that by then the four divisions and the cavalry division of Mons had in eleven months increased to twenty-eight divisions and five cavalry divisions. These reinforcements enabled a 3rd British Army to be formed under Sir Charles Monro, which took over some seventeen miles of front from a point to the south of Arras as far as the Somme, eventually extending its lines to the south of that river. Haig's 1st Army prolonged its left south of the La Bassée Canal to the neighbourhood of Lens and thus found itself facing the open plain of Loos, while Plumer's 2nd Army relieved the remaining French troops in the Ypres salient and brought its left into contact with the right of the Belgians.

The view held at both French and British Headquarters at this period of the war was that we were engaged in operations of the nature of a huge siege, and that if a practicable breach could be blown in the enemy's lines through which the infantry could be poured to the assault those lines would crumple up. A study of the previous battles of trench-warfare led to the belief that with sufficient guns and ammunition it was possible to effect such a breach. The output of the French factories had been enormously increased, and though the British Ministry of Munitions had hardly begun to be productive, still the supply of heavy guns and shell for the British Army had been greatly increased, and it was equipped to reply effectively to the German gas. There was, therefore, good reason to believe that at length there would be no lack of war material. The one fly

in the ointment was that there had been a renewal in the British Cabinet of the controversy between the Easterners and the Westerners, and Mr. Churchill had pressed with all his eloquence and skill for a decisive campaign which should open the road to Constantinople. The result was again a compromise, and three of the New Army Divisions had gone to the East. Some compensation for this was obtained by the arrival of two more New Army Divisions in France and by the formation of a Guards' Division, which had been made possible by the creation of new battalions of Guards and the replacement of those already in France by other battalions; thus the creation of an additional army corps, which Sir John French kept in his hands as a reserve, became possible.

Joffre opened his autumn campaign on September 25. In addition to his great attack in Champagne, Foch with the French 10th Army attempted once more to storm the Vimy Ridge, while Haig's 1st Army attacked between the La Bassée Canal and Lens in conjunction with a secondary British attack to the north of the canal and demonstrations on the front near Armentières. The general plan of the northern battle was that Foch, having carried the Vimy Ridge, should advance eastwards to the south of Lens while Haig pushed eastwards through Loos to the north of Lens and joined hands with Foch beyond that town. In this way the Allies would avoid the mass of ruined buildings and miners' cottages which composed the town and would form admirable refuges for the German machine-gunners. The tactical methods to be employed on both the southern and northern battlefields were similar in conception — that is to say, there was to be a great rush forward of the assaulting infantry as soon as the attack had been adequately prepared by the artillery, and the reserves were to follow hard after the first-line troops. Only in the matter of the preparation of the attack was there any essential difference in the methods to be employed by the British and the French. The former had determined to replace an intense bombardment by a discharge of gas from cylinders similar to that from which they had suffered in the second battle of Ypres.

Of the British share in the general plan the demonstrations in front of Armentières proved quite ineffective, while the attack north of the La Bassée Canal failed. On the front opposite Loos, however, the discharge of gas surprised the Germans and overcame the resistance of their first-line troops, though it caused some casualties among our own men and made it difficult to direct the attack. Despite this, the first wave of British infantry

passed through and beyond Loos, when it appeared that it only needed the prompt arrival of the reserves to secure a very considerable success. Sir John French had, however, kept back his reserve corps until he saw how the battle progressed, and when it arrived late in the evening the New Army Divisions which formed two-thirds of the corps found great difficulty in making their way through the confusion of the battlefield under conditions entirely strange to them, and were unable to confirm the success won, so that, though Loos was held, German counter-attacks drove us back from a considerable part of the ground gained, and in particular recovered the important Hill 70, which dominated Loos on the north. Worse still, Foch's attack on the Vimy Ridge failed almost completely, and the Germans remained in possession of the crest. This alone condemned the northern attack to failure, for the British front of battle was not large enough to ensure a breach in the enemy's defences sufficiently wide to be exploited successfully. The remainder of the battle of Loos, which lasted until the middle of October, resolved itself into the repulse of a number of fierce German counter-attacks which ended in mutual exhaustion, with the British in possession of a salient which extended round Lens to the La Bassée Canal.

The great battle in Champagne was an even more severe disappointment, because more had been expected. The first news from the field aroused high hopes. The first two German lines of defence were carried on a wide front and many prisoners and guns were captured, while on the fourth day of the battle the third German line, which was believed to be the enemy's last system of defence, was for a time breached near Sainte Marie; but again the solution was not found of the problem of bringing up reserves at the right time and in good order, while the enemy's reserves, which came up fresh through country which had not been fought over, arrived in time to stop the breach. The battle of Champagne ran on into November, developing into a series of struggles for tactical points of importance that ended with no material change in the position won by the French at the end of the fourth day of the battle. So the campaign of 1915 closed on the Western Front with the Allies still asking themselves how it was possible to get through the trench-barrier and drive the Germans from France and Belgium. The great bombardment followed by the assault in mass had failed, and some other method of attack was required.

After the failure to force a way through the Turkish lines in the Gallipoli peninsula in the battles of June, there ensued, as in

Flanders after the first battle of Ypres, an eager search for a way round. Hamilton believed that he had found such a way and pressed for reinforcements to enable him to carry through his new plan. As has been mentioned, Mr. Churchill advocated strenuously that the policy of the Entente for the remainder of the year should be a defensive policy in the West and a supreme effort to reach Constantinople in the East; but Joffre was, for the same reasons as he had put forward on behalf of his campaign in the spring, determined upon his autumn offensive, and he was again supported by British military opinion in France. The result was another compromise. Hamilton was to have his reinforcements and we were to take our part in Joffre's campaign in France.

By the end of July our forces engaged in the Gallipoli campaign had grown into a large army, and Hamilton had under his command four army corps and a General Reserve. Since the first landing the French had furnished an additional division and now had a complete army corps. We had sent the 42nd and 52nd Territorial Divisions, and these had been followed by the 10th, 11th and 13th Divisions of the New Armies, while the infantry of two more Territorial divisions, the 53rd and 54th, were on their way, so that the army was now composed of eleven complete divisions and of the infantry of two others, and had a nominal strength of nearly a quarter of a million men. Actually the fighting strength did not amount to more than 150,000 men, as it had proved impossible to supply both French and Hamilton simultaneously with the drafts needed to replace their losses.

Hamilton's new enterprise began on August 6 with a general attack from the Anzac front upon the Sari Bair ridge, under cover of which a fresh landing was made in Suvla Bay by the IXth Army Corps under General Stopford. After three days of fierce fighting the battle of Sari Bair resulted in an important enlargement of the positions won in the first fighting around Anzac Cove, but the summit of Sari Bair could not be held, and the attack failed in its main object. Meantime, the landing at Suvla Bay had been made successfully. The Turks were clearly surprised, and for some hours it seemed that only a little energy and determination were needed to force a way across the peninsula. But for energy and determination well-trained troops and skilful leadership were necessary, and partially-trained troops under leaders who were taking part in their first great battle were called upon to carry through the most difficult military enterprise, a landing on an open beach in the presence of the enemy. The delivery of supplies, particularly of water, proved

to be one great difficulty, and the transmission of orders, upon which control depended, another, so that there was hesitation and delay where quick action was imperative, and the Turks had time to organise a front against the new landing. The battle of Suvla ended with the establishment of a position covering the landing-places at about 3,000 yards from the beaches, and our lines were again confronted with a trench-barrier manned by resolute Turks.

Again the attempt to carry out simultaneously two offensive campaigns had resulted in the failure of both. Had there been no Gallipoli campaign, not all the troops under Hamilton's orders could have been in France, for it would have been necessary to have provided a considerable garrison for Egypt; but six of Hamilton's divisions might have been with French, and the addition of six divisions with the drafts and the munitions which had been sent to Gallipoli might have made a considerable difference in Joffre's autumn campaign. Alternatively, had there been no autumn campaign in France and had six seasoned divisions at full strength under picked leaders and well supplied with ammunition been sent to Hamilton in place of the divisions which had had little or no experience of modern war, the battle of Suvla Bay would almost certainly have resulted in driving the Turks from the peninsula, and might have proved decisive of the campaign in the East. But we were not independent agents, we were members of an Alliance, and as it was impossible to obtain the agreement of the French to a passive policy in the West, the right course to have adopted after our failures in the Dardanelles in June would have been to have cut our losses in the East. The fear of the effect of this upon our prestige had then prevailed, but after the failure of Suvla Bay events rapidly forced upon us such a decision. If the winter of 1914–15 had been terrible for our infantry in Flanders, the conditions on the Gallipoli peninsula were, though different in kind, as trying. Heat, flies and dust took the place of cold, rain and mud; and if the shell-fire of the Turkish artillery was not so severe as that of the German, there were none of the comforts for troops out of the line which could be provided in France. So the sick-list on the peninsula grew to ominous proportions, and the drab monotony of clinging to a strip of coast, without prospect of change, told on the spirits of the men. As early as May the German submarine U 51 had reached the Ægean and sunk the battleships *Triumph* and *Majestic*, and it was clear that if the enemy were to get a number of submarines through to the East it might be impossible to maintain the expedition. Therefore,

when on September 23 Bulgaria mobilised and soon afterwards joined German and Austrian forces in an attack upon Serbia, which opened direct railway communication between Berlin and Constantinople, so that Germany could send submarines in sections, guns and shells, to the Dardanelles, it was obvious that we were faced with the possibility of a gigantic disaster.

Hamilton was in favour of remaining, and still believed in the possibility of getting through the Turkish lines; but after prolonged discussion and a visit by Kitchener to the Dardanelles he was overruled and recalled, Sir Charles Monro taking his place. At the end of November a heavy storm swept the peninsula, ending in a blizzard which cost us as many casualties as a great battle; this precipitated a decision, and so on December 8 the evacuation of Suvla and Anzac was begun. Everyone in authority had looked forward with dread to this undertaking, and the most optimistic had anticipated the loss of at least half the force. About 83,000 men, some 5,000 animals, 200 guns and 2,000 vehicles had to be embarked from under the noses of the Turks, and it was one of the marvels of the war that this stupendous task was achieved with the loss only of a few damaged guns and the abandonment of a score of carts and some fifty animals. It was still more marvellous that after the Turks had been warned of what was afoot 35,000 men, 4,000 animals and more than 100 guns were withdrawn with equal success, by January 8, from Cape Helles. The Dardanelles expedition had cost us 117,000 battle casualties, and nearly 100,000 sick had gone to hospital. We had made many grievous mistakes, both in planning and in execution, but the cardinal error had been the attempt, with undeveloped resources, to find a way round the trench-barrier while we were at the same time seeking to break through that barrier.

Meantime the Entente Powers had decided to intervene in the Balkans in a tardy effort to save Serbia, and on October 5 Allied troops were landed at Salonika. These came in the first instance from the reserves of the Dardanelles Expedition, but more were needed, and these were sent from the Western Front. Five French divisions were sent off under the command of General Sarrail, and were accompanied by three divisions of the 3rd British Army, which had been holding the line south of the Somme. The British troops in Macedonia at this time were commanded by Sir Bryan Mahon, who had gone there with his 10th Division from the Dardanelles, but neither he nor Sarrail was in time to save the remnant of the Serbian Army, and, after falling back with some loss, the most they could do

was to fortify and hold a position covering the town and harbour of Salonika, a position which the enemy thought it prudent not to attack.

Farther to the east the Mesopotamian Expedition had at first prospered. After the early successes gained at the mouth of the Euphrates the scope of the expedition had been enlarged; it had been reinforced from India, and General Nixon, who was placed in command, was directed to drive the Turks from the province of Basra. This involved two expeditions, one up the Euphrates, the other up the Tigris. The first of these, under General Gorringe, decisively defeated the Turkish forces on the Euphrates at Nasiriya and occupied that place, while the second, advancing up the Tigris under General Townshend, was equally successful, Townshend defeating at Qut-el-Amara the Turks, who retired on Baghdad. After prolonged discussion it was decided that the occupation of Baghdad was feasible and that this would be a valuable offset to the failure of the Dardanelles campaign. The Indian Army Corps had suffered much during the previous winter in Flanders, and, partly to save it from another winter's campaign in Europe, and partly to provide the necessary reinforcements for General Nixon, its two divisions were sent to Mesopotamia. Before they arrived, Townshend had advanced and met the Turks at Ctesiphon on the Tigris. Townshend's first attack was successful, but the Turks had sent troops from Europe to save Baghdad, and these arriving on the battlefield forced him to make a hurried retreat. He reached Qut-el-Amara on December 3, but could go no farther; and two days later the Turkish forces invested the place.

So in every field saving only in the Cameroons, where Sir Charles Dobell had almost brought his difficult campaign to a successful conclusion, the year closed gloomily for the Allied arms. At sea our Navy had sunk the last German raiders and was maintaining our maritime communications, but the multiplication of the German submarines was making its task daily harder. The autumn campaign in France had failed; Serbia had been overrun and a sorry remnant of the Serbian Army had taken refuge in Corfu; the Dardanelles Expedition had been abandoned; at Salonika we were forced into an awkward defensive position with a strong enemy in front and a doubtfully neutral Greece on our flank; while Townshend was besieged in Qut, and it was far from certain that he could be rescued. The Russians had lost Warsaw and were so woefully deficient in munitions that there was no early prospect that they would be able to make their weight felt; while in the Alps and on

the Isonzo the Italians were confronted with a trench-barrier which they could not penetrate.

In these depressing circumstances a reorganisation of the Allied Command took place. Joffre, who had been nominally Chief of the French General Staff, became Commander-in-Chief of the French Armies in France, with General de Castelnau as his Chief of the Staff. Sir John French was brought home to command the troops in Great Britain and was succeeded by Sir Douglas Haig, and lastly Sir William Robertson, who had been Chief of the Staff of our Armies in France, was brought to the War Office as Chief of the Imperial General Staff.

## XX

## 1916

Sir William Robertson, soon after his arrival in the War Office, obtained the agreement of the Government to a statement of military policy which declared the Western Front to be the principal theatre of war and the defeat of Germany our prime object, but in order that we might devote our attention to that object it was necessary that our interests in the East and elsewhere should be safeguarded. The failure of the Dardanelles expedition and the critical situation in Mesopotamia had gravely imperilled those interests: German agents found their way into Persia and eventually to Afghanistan, while there was sporadic unrest in India. In Southern Arabia our troops had been driven out of Lahej and had to fall back upon Aden, where the garrison was practically confined to the defences of that fortress. On the western frontier of Egypt the Senussi were in arms, and though they had been defeated on December 13, 1915 at Mersa Matruh, the trouble in that part of the world had been far from overcome, while it was certain that the Turks, relieved from anxiety as to Constantinople, would again attempt an invasion of Egypt. As some offset against these anxieties Kitchener had concluded an agreement with the Sherif of Mecca, which brought the Arabs in on our side, but our withdrawal from the Dardanelles made it certain that these new friends, so far from giving us help, would themselves require aid against the Turks for some time to come. Lastly v. Lettow-Vorbeck, the Commander of the German forces in East Africa, was known to have organised considerable native levies and had carried out raids into Uganda which threatened

the security of that colony. There was therefore a great deal of clearing up to be done throughout the world before anything like undivided attention could be given to the defeat of Germany.

In order to meet the danger in East Africa it had been decided at the end of 1915 to organise an expedition into the German colony, largely made up of troops drawn from the Dominion of South Africa under the command of Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien; but the latter was taken ill before the expedition could start and was succeeded by General Smuts. Smuts began his campaign in May, and by manœuvring round the flanks of Lettow's forces forced them back first from the frontiers of Uganda and then into the interior of the German colony. On July 7 he occupied Tanga, where our first enterprise in that part of Africa had failed; and though it was evident that the complete conquest of German East Africa would be a long business, owing to the nature of the country and its vast extent, yet all anxiety as to the outcome was by then at an end.

Mesopotamia presented a far more difficult problem. It had never been anticipated during the previous year that our expedition into that country would attain serious proportions, but the advance to Baghdad had drawn a hornets' nest about our ears, and we found ourselves willy-nilly involved in another great campaign in which we were no longer opposed to badly-trained and ill-equipped local Turkish troops, but to some of their best soldiers sent from Europe. The two Indian divisions from France had been sent to Mesopotamia, and after the evacuation of Suvla Bay the 13th Division under General Maude had also been sent thither. There was therefore an ample force for the relief of Townshend besieged in Qut if it could all have been brought promptly into the field; but that was not possible. No preparations had been made to organise the long and difficult line of communication so that it could maintain a large force. Railways had not been built nor had steamers and barges capable of navigating the Tigris been constructed, and, though the rivers of the world were searched, vessels of the right type could not be found in sufficient numbers. It was mainly for these reasons that the first attempt of the relieving force failed at Um-el-Hanna on January 21. Thereafter the Turks had ample time to bring up reinforcements and to prepare strong defensive positions covering the siege, and a second attempt was repulsed at Es-Sinn on March 8. In a third effort on April 5 the Um-el-Hanna position was captured and the Turks were driven back on their last lines at Sanna-i-Yat, but three attempts to carry these lines made on April 9,

12 and 22 all failed, and Townshend's garrison of some 6,000 men, on the verge of starvation after enduring a siege of 143 days, surrendered on April 29.

It had in fact been for the relieving force a race against starvation, and every man who could be maintained in its ranks had been sent up to the front in the hope that it might be possible to stretch out a hand to beleaguered comrades. The ill-provided line of communication was therefore worked throughout beyond its capacity, and the troops suffered greatly, particularly the sick and wounded. The expedition had been based on India and its operations were directed from that country; but India had not the military resources for so great an enterprise. Accordingly Sir William Robertson transferred the control to the War Office and advised the Government to appoint General Maude to the command. Under Maude's direction railways were built, the port of Basra was improved, the channel of the Tigris was dredged and bridged and a fleet of river vessels was provided, while he inspired his men, depressed by their failure before Qut, with his own high spirit, and prepared throughout the summer and autumn for a campaign which should drive the Turks from Qut-el-Amara.

The Dardanelles Expeditionary Force had, with the exception of those troops which had been sent to Salonika and Mesopotamia, gone to Egypt, where it was reorganised by Sir Archibald Murray, who at the same time took measures for the defence of the Suez Canal and for the subjection of the Senussi. This last task he accomplished speedily, the Senussi being defeated on February 26 in the action of Agagia; and on March 14 we occupied Sollum on the western front of Egypt. It was found that the passive defence of the long line of the Suez Canal would absorb a very large garrison, but that by going out into the desert of Sinai and securing the comparatively few wells which furnished the only water supply in the desert and defined the possible lines of approach to the canal, four infantry divisions and a force of mounted troops would suffice for the protection of Egypt, and a number of divisions would be released for service on the Western Front. But the advance into the desert entailed elaborate preparations. A broad-gauge railway was constructed behind the advancing troops, and as the water in the wells of the desert was brackish and unhealthy for white troops, pumping-stations were erected, a pipe-line was laid and fresh water thus brought from Egypt. Murray pushed on his preparations with all energy, and by the end of June had despatched seven divisions to France; on August 5 he defeated the Turks

at Romani and by December 21 had occupied El Arish and gained complete control of the Sinai peninsula.

The position at Salonika remained a constant source of anxiety, and another British division was sent thither from France in January, making five British divisions, four of which had come from the Western Front, in that theatre, where the command of the British Army devolved on General Milne. Yet despite the great dispersion of strength which these many campaigns in distant parts involved, the arrival of more Dominion and New Army divisions had, at the beginning of 1916, brought the strength of Haig's command up to thirty-six divisions and five cavalry divisions, a fighting strength of about 850,000 men. The French strength at that time was about 2,250,000 and that of the Belgians 120,000, so that the Allies had on the Western Front about 3,200,000 men, opposed to about 2,000,000 Germans.

In December 1915 the first serious attempt to obtain unity of action between the Allies took place, and a conference of Commanders-in-Chief and Chiefs of Staff of the British, French, Belgian and Italian Armies, attended also by representatives of the Russian and Japanese Armies, was held at Joffre's Headquarters. It was then agreed that the enemy should be attacked on all fronts as early in the year as possible, sufficient time being allowed for the training of the New Army divisions that the British Army was receiving, and for the re-equipment of the Russian Armies. The enemy, however, anticipated these plans. During December and January the Germans made a number of local attacks designed partly to distract attention and partly to test various methods of bombardment in view of a greater effort which they were planning. There had been indications that this effort would be made in the Verdun sector, and General de Castelnau was sent thither by Joffre to examine the defences. He ordered certain improvements, but time was lacking to carry these out. The Allied defences at this period of the war were very inferior to those of the Germans, for we and the French had spent the greater part of 1915 either in carrying out the vast preparations necessary for an attack in trench-warfare or in attacking, and had little energy or labour left for more digging. The Germans, who had been on the defensive throughout the year, were able to use forced labour from Belgium and from the occupied provinces of France, and could draw upon the large number of prisoners they had captured on the Russian front, while the Allies could only find labour at the expense of their armies or of their munition factories. Of this advantage the enemy made the fullest

and most unscrupulous use, and it was not until much later in the war, when large numbers of Germans had been taken prisoners, when labour battalions composed of men too old to be put into the trenches were organised and when native labour was provided from China, that the conditions were equalised. It was the superior strength of their defences which allowed the Germans, while in inferior numbers on the whole front, to run the risk of withdrawing troops from parts of that front in order to obtain sufficient force for the attack on Verdun which had been planned by v. Falkenhayn, then Chief of the German General Staff.

That attack opened on a front of nine miles on the banks of the Meuse opposite Verdun, on February 21. The enemy at once gained a startling success, penetrating the French defences and on the fourth day of the battle capturing Fort Douaumont, one of the chief of the outlying works of the fortress of Verdun. This success was greater than any gained by the Allies in attack, though their relative superiority in men on the battle-fronts had been far greater than that of the Germans at the beginning of the battle of Verdun. The Germans won their successes mainly by the skilful handling of their medium and heavy guns, of which they had assembled a great number for the attack. They had before the war made a much closer study of the use of heavy and medium howitzers, both for field and siege warfare, and had more gunners highly trained in their use, than had either we or the French, while careful experiments in bombardment, carried out before the battle, bore good fruit.

Joffre dealt with the crisis promptly. After providing for reinforcements for the battle-front he requested Haig to relieve his 10th Army on the Arras front and asked Kitchener to hasten the despatch of British reinforcements to France. Two more New Army divisions and one Territorial division had reached France in January, three more New Army divisions and three more Territorial divisions from home were to be in France before the end of May, and seven divisions were to come from Egypt before the end of June, so that, deducting the divisions sent to Salonika in January, Haig could count on a strength of fifty-one divisions and five cavalry divisions by the middle of the year.

Both Commanders-in-Chief were agreed that the principles on which the plans of battle in 1915 had been drawn up required modification. It was seen that the analogy of the great siege did not hold, and that it did not suffice to create a breach in the enemy's lines by means of a great bombardment and then

to send forward the infantry to the assault. The German machine-guns might be overcome by a powerful and accurate bombardment, but the enemy's reserves had in previous battles proved to be the ultimate obstacle to victory, for they, being posted beyond the area swept by our guns, had been brought up fresh and in good order to meet troops whom the assault had thrown into confusion, and they had been able to close the breach. It was agreed, therefore, that the first object of battle should be to draw in and exhaust the enemy's reserves, and that until that object had been achieved no decisive success could be expected. So long as the enemy continued to attack at Verdun he would have to draw upon his reserves, and it would, on this principle, be to the advantage of the French to endure these attacks, provided always that the enemy gained no advantage which he could exploit to the detriment of the strategical position of the Allies on the whole front, and provided that the exhaustion of the French reserves was not excessive. Joffre therefore decided to fight defensively at Verdun as long as possible, but to be ready to strike back as soon as the situation there appeared to him too dangerous or as soon as the French Army was approaching the limits of endurance. He therefore asked Haig not only to relieve the French 10th Army, but to prepare to attack north of the Somme on a front as wide as the resources of the British Army would permit; and he undertook to support that attack with a French attack south of the river on a scale which would depend upon the effect of the battle of Verdun upon the French Army.

So, throughout the months of March, April and May the struggle for Verdun continued, the Germans in their several attacks gaining sufficient ground to encourage them to make a new effort now on the right bank of the Meuse, now on the left. During all this fighting the reputation of two of the defenders of Verdun increased steadily, and in May General Pétain was promoted to the command of the group of armies of the centre which included the Verdun area, General Nivelle taking his place in command on the actual front of battle.

The increase in the British Army which has already been described enabled Haig to fall in with Joffre's wishes, and as soon as the relief of the 10th French Army was completed he began to prepare to attack north of the Somme. A 4th Army under the command of Sir Henry Rawlinson was created, the 3rd Army being now commanded by Sir E. Allenby; Sir Charles Monro had returned from the Dardanelles to command the 1st Army, while the 2nd Army remained under Sir H. Plumer.

The relief of the French 10th Army completed, the British troops held a continuous line from the Yser Canal to the Somme, and were actively preparing to take upon themselves more of the brunt of the war on the Western Front. This preparation entailed enormous labour, for it not only involved the assembly of a mass of troops, the placing in position of a great number of guns and the accumulation of immense stores and piles of munitions of all kinds on the selected front of attack, the construction of miles of roads, railways and trenches, and the many other preliminaries of a great attack in trench warfare, but also the completion of the training of hitherto untried troops. The British Army was, in fact, in process of becoming a national army. The old Regulars were now little more than a small leaven of the whole lump; and though the new troops arrived in France with considerable knowledge of their duties as cavalrymen, infantrymen, gunners and airmen, they had had little opportunity of learning to work together as part of a great machine. The problem of training was the more complicated because of the great variety of new weapons and methods which had been developed since the outbreak of war, and it was a heavy task to teach each part of the army the powers and limitations of every other part, and to train the whole to work together in combination. To this task Haig at once addressed himself, and formed behind the lines schools of instruction in every branch of trench- and battle-warfare, while careful arrangements were made for the training in attack of divisions when out of the line. All this work behind the lines did not mean any cessation of activity on the front, and during these months of preparation a long series of raids into the enemy's trenches were planned and executed, raids which gave the new troops valuable experience and kept the enemy on tenterhooks.

In the latter part of May the German Crown Prince redoubled his attacks on the Verdun front, and on the 21st the Germans stormed the Mort Homme Hill on the left bank of the Meuse, for which they had been struggling for weeks. Pétain at once called Joffre's attention to the gravity of the situation and pressed for an early beginning of the counter-offensive on the Somme; but Joffre was anxious to give Haig as much time as possible for the training of the troops, and he bade Pétain endure yet a little longer.

While the drama of Verdun was drawing to its close there occurred two events which affected profoundly Great Britain's military conduct of the war. On June 5 H.M.S. *Hampshire* struck a mine off the coast of Scotland and sank, with Lord

Kitchener and his staff, who were on their way to Russia. A few days before, the creator of the great voluntary army of the Empire had seen the last of the New Army divisions off to France. His work was in great measure accomplished, and three days after his death compulsory service became the law of the land.

Fire from the Mort Homme Hill had long impeded German progress on the right bank of the Meuse, but with the Hill in their possession the enemy in the beginning of June began to press hard on that bank and on June 7 captured Fort Vaux. Thereupon Pétain renewed his representations to Joffre, who in consultation with Haig decided that the battle of the Somme should begin on July 1. The preliminary bombardment was begun a week earlier, on June 24, the day on which the Germans, after capturing Fort Thiaumont, stormed the village of Fleury and attained the farthest point in their progress towards Verdun. While this preliminary bombardment was in progress, a bombardment so intense that the guns could be heard in England, no less than seventy raids were carried out on the British front between Ypres and the Somme, and gas was discharged into the enemy's lines from forty different points. The troops which were about to attack the German trenches from Gommecourt to the Somme included the flower of British manhood, and no more splendid body of men has ever gone forward to battle. Our aircraft had already gained the ascendancy over the enemy's airmen, we were now well equipped with machine-guns, trench-mortars, bombs, gas-projectors, and all other new appliances which experience of trench-warfare had shown to be necessary, our tunnellers had proved themselves to be more than a match for the enemy's mines, for the first time in the war we had a sufficiency of heavy and medium guns and were assured of an adequate if not abundant supply of shells. Expectation therefore ran high.

The results of the first attack were a heavy disappointment. The main attack was delivered by Rawlinson's 4th Army between the Ancre and Maricourt, about a mile north of the Somme, where we joined hands with the French 6th Army commanded by General Fayolle, who attacked astride the river under the general direction of Foch. This main attack was combined with a subsidiary attack by the 4th Army north of the Ancre, and yet another by the 3rd Army upon the Gommecourt salient. Upon July 1 both of the subsidiary attacks and the whole left of the main attack failed, and with heavy loss, but the right of the main attack and the whole of the French attack

made such good progress as to warrant the continuance of the battle. The failures were in the main due to want of experience in our artillery. More than two-thirds of the batteries engaged had been created since the outbreak of war, and at that time we did not possess sufficient ammunition to give them such practical experience in intense bombardment as the Germans had given their gunners before the battle of Verdun. The chalky soil of the Somme hills lent itself to the construction of deep dug-outs, of which the enemy had a great number, and to prevent his men from coming out of these in time to meet our infantry special and very accurate methods of artillery preparations were required. In default of these the infantry yet again found themselves checked on the greater part of the front by the deadly German machine-guns, and it was mainly through the devoted valour of the infantry through the first days of the battle that the gains made by the right of the 4th Army were confirmed and extended. The first successes won by Foch's men along the river itself were greater and were obtained at less cost, partly because the Germans, overrating the effect of the battle of Verdun, had not expected attack from that quarter, and partly because of the better preparation of the attack by the French artillery, the French having, of course, a far larger number of trained gunners for the expansion of that arm than we possessed.

One of the results of the events of the first days of the battle was that Sir Douglas Haig decided to divide his fighting front between two armies. He directed Rawlinson with the 4th Army to exploit the advantages won on the right, and formed on his left a 5th Army under Sir Hubert Gough which was to keep the enemy opposite to it busy and act as a pivot to the 4th Army. The battle was fought out in three phases, the first being the struggle up the western slopes of the Somme plateau, the second the fight for the possession of the plateau, and the third the advance down the northern and eastern slopes towards the valleys of the Upper Ancre and the Tortille. The first phase, which was made possible by the capture of the important hill of Montauban by Haig's right on July 1, was consummated by a brilliant night attack by the 4th Army on July 14. By July 17 our men had won their way through the second German defensive system, had established themselves on the eastern edge of the plateau at Delville Wood, and had captured Bazentin. We and the French troops north of the Somme were then in line with our French comrades south of the river, and the front of battle was prepared for the opening of the second phase. This began

on July 23 with a series of fierce attacks by the enemy intended to drive us off the plateau. These being repulsed, the line slowly won its way forward, wresting trench after trench from the enemy, who continually brought up fresh divisions and threw them in to prevent us from making farther progress on the plateau. Throughout August the grim struggle continued, and it was not until September 9 that we were in possession of Ginchy and were able to look down the slopes towards the Tortille river with the greater part of the plateau in our hands.

By this time two of the objects for which the battle had been fought were gained. The Germans, forced to transfer troops to the Somme, had to relax their pressure on Verdun. The French retook Fort Thiaumont on June 30, while throughout July they slowly regained part of the ground which had been won from them, and on August 18 drove the enemy out of Fleury. Verdun was no longer in danger, and Pétain and Nivelle were able to plan at leisure counter-attacks on a more extensive scale.

The second object of the battle of the Somme, the exhaustion of the enemy's reserves, was being obtained as surely. When the battle began the front attacked by the British was held by six German divisions, that attacked by the French by two. In the two months thirty-six German divisions had been engaged on the British front, twenty-eight on the French. In the six months of Verdun the Germans had employed forty-three divisions in battle, so that their defence on the Somme was exhausting their troops far more rapidly than their attacks at Verdun. At the end of August the failure of Falkenhayn's plans was publicly admitted by his supersession by v. Hindenburg, with v. Ludendorff as Chief Assistant. The latter, after visiting the fields of Verdun and the Somme, found the German position on the Western Front to be one of great gravity, and the chief problem confronting him to be how to stop "the progressive falling off" of the German fighting-power. The situation of the Allies had improved marvellously since June, when men were wondering how long it would be before the Germans entered Verdun. Not only had Verdun been saved and the Germans been forced to fight desperately on the defensive, but the Italians had driven back the attacking Austrians in the Alps and had then passed themselves to attack on the Isonzo. On the Russian front Brusilov had won great victories in the Bukovina, and Romania had entered the war, too late certainly to profit by Brusilov's success, but none the less yet another enemy confronted the Central Powers.

The Serbian Army had been reconstituted and moved from Corfu to Salonika, where it had taken a place in the Allied line. Sarrail, now in command of all the Allied forces in Macedonia, had been able to swing his left forward from the cramped lines covering the harbour of Salonika, and the Entente Powers were at last in position to speak plainly to Greece.

The whole machinery of the Alliance was, for the first time, simultaneously at work, and Joffre's strategy appeared to be triumphant. It was in these encouraging circumstances that the third phase of the battle of the Somme began on September 15.

The attack of that day was made famous not only by the successes won, which were considerable, but by the fact that tanks then made their first appearance in battle. There has been much controversy as to the wisdom of this step. The experts have maintained that the value of this invention was discounted by premature use, that it should have been kept in reserve to surprise the enemy when large numbers of the new weapon were ready, and that it should have been first used on ground more favourable than a shell-torn battlefield. It was decided to employ tanks in the Somme battle for two reasons. Firstly, having gained so much at great cost, the moment seemed to have come to press the enemy with every available means. The chief obstacle to the progress of the infantry continued to be the German machine-guns, and tanks were reputed to be the ideal means of overcoming machine-guns. If it would have been foolish not to have pressed the advantage won, it would have been criminal to have withheld from the sorely-tried infantry protection and aid which were at hand. The second reason was that experience was required in the use of tanks in battle. It was necessary to learn both how the tanks would comport themselves when put to the highest test, and how they would work in combination with infantry and artillery. Some of the enthusiasts who created the tank believed that it would by itself win the war, a belief which events proved to be entirely fallacious. The effective co-operation of infantry, tanks and artillery went a long way towards winning the war in 1918, but we should not have had either that co-operation or the perfected tank of that year but for the experience of 1916.

The third phase of the battle took the form of a general attack in a north-easterly direction against the flank of the salient in the enemy's lines which our easterly advance across the plateau to Ginchy had created. On September 15 Martin-

puich and Flers on the northern slopes were captured by the 5th Army and we looked into the valley of the Upper Ancre. Thereafter the 5th Army continued to press north and the 4th Army east, and on September 25 we won Morval and Lesbœufs on the eastern front and on September 26 captured both Combles on that front, with the help of the French on our right, and Thiepval on the northern front. With these successes the third German system of defence was penetrated, and it seemed as if we were about to reap the fruits of the long struggle ; but then, alas ! the weather broke, and once more mud and wet proved to be potent auxiliaries of the enemy's defence.

Despite the employment of tanks and despite the splendid valour of our infantry, the resistance of the enemy could not be broken in the third phase of the battle of the Somme. The days were growing shorter and the weather became worse, while the enemy, drawing troops from all parts of the front to prevent his line from breaking, fought with fine courage. By November 17, when the battle ended, the Germans had engaged no less than 127 divisions. Their reserves had indeed been worn down ; in the valley of the Ancre they had been pressed into an awkward salient, but it was too late to garner the harvest on the battle-front. The first-fruits of the Somme were gathered elsewhere.

The battle had been the first great test of our national army, and the valour and determination displayed by the infantry in the long-drawn-out hammer-and-tongs struggle have never been surpassed in war. It was a contest between British bull-dog grit and German skill and discipline, in which grit won a victory the effects of which were not immediately apparent, but a victory, none the less, which sapped the strength of the enemy's armies and was one of the prime causes of that sudden collapse which two years later astonished the world. Our men had not acquired the experience and skill which later enabled them to win their way across these same uplands of the Somme in one-third of the time and at less than half the cost, but their dauntless courage, their high sense of duty, their firm patriotism, and above all their fixed conviction that they were fighting for the right, enabled them to endure conditions beyond comparison more terrible than had ever been faced by the veterans of Wellington or of Napoleon, and to sustain losses which might well have broken the spirit of their forbears who had stormed the blood-stained ridge of Albuera or withstood the assaults of the Russian hordes at Inkerman.

Next to the astonishing valour of the astonishing infantry

must rank the achievements of our airmen. Not until the last few months of the war did we attain such complete mastery of the air as this young service won in the battle of the Somme. Not only were the opposing airmen driven almost entirely from the battlefields, not only were the German depots, railways and reserves mercilessly bombed, but our aircraft sweeping down from the skies poured machine-gun fire into the ranks of the German infantry on the very front of battle and spread despair and demoralisation in the enemy's trenches. Such was the ascendency won by our air force that the Germans devoted the ensuing winter to reorganising their air service, and for the remainder of the war concentrated a large percentage of their aircraft on the British front.

But the terrible casualty lists which appeared during the battle of the Somme and the conspicuous successes won by Germany in Romania obliterated in the public mind, and in the minds of certain of our statesmen, the effect of the achievements of our men in France, and the Somme came to be regarded as a bloody failure. Indeed, it was at Verdun rather than in Picardy that the first results of the battle were obtained, for the Germans had been compelled to draw heavily upon their troops before the French fortress and to send them into the maelstrom farther north.

On October 24 Nivelle began an attack on the right bank of the Meuse, and on the following day recaptured Fort Douaumont. This conspicuous success was followed by the recapture of Fort Vaux on November 5. The battle ended in a complete victory for the French, six French divisions overcoming seven German divisions at surprisingly small cost. Nivelle and Mangin, who commanded the Army Corps engaged, became the heroes of France. The victory was largely due to the skilful handling of massed artillery, and the Nivelle method became famous. Its fame was extended when, on December 15, a second attack won an even more brilliant success, which made Verdun quite secure and brought in 11,387 prisoners and 115 guns, again at small cost to the French.

When the statesmen of Paris and London compared the results of these two battles at Verdun, which had resulted not only in important gains of ground but in the capture in a few days' fighting of more than 17,000 prisoners, with the slow bludgeon-work of the Somme in which the British Army in four and a half months had captured 38,000 Germans at a tremendous price, they began to think that they had at last discovered the man for whom they were looking so anxiously, the man who

would give them victory without the appalling sacrifices which the Somme had cost.

## XXI

## 1917

Early in December 1916 Joffre held at his headquarters the second conference of the Allied Commanders-in-Chief and Chiefs of the Staff, to review the military situation and to decide on the plans of campaign for the coming year.

Since the first conference the military situation had changed greatly in favour of the Entente Powers. In the East the position, which had been highly critical at the end of 1915, had been made safe. Murray was established on the southern frontier of Palestine and the Suez Canal was secure from attack. Maude in Mesopotamia had now behind him a well organised and equipped line of communications and was ready to attack the Turkish positions surrounding Qut-el-Amara; Smuts was sweeping through the last colony which remained in German hands, and it did not appear likely that reinforcements would be required in any of these theatres of war to the detriment of the Western Front. Only as regards Salonika was there anxiety, for it was always possible for the Germans to reinforce the Bulgarians rapidly and attempt such another coup as they had brought off in Romania. But even there the position had improved, for Sarrail had occupied Monastir in November and by establishing his lines on the Greek frontier had made collusion between Greece and Germany less easy, and the Entente Governments had decided to force Constantine to demobilise his army by blockading the coasts of Greece. The maintenance of these secondary campaigns, nevertheless, severely strained the shipping resources of the Entente Powers, and the growing depredations of the enemy's submarines was an ever-increasing source of anxiety. This was a potent argument in favour of limiting decisive action to the Western Front and of reducing to a minimum the efforts expended on the more distant theatres of war.

By overrunning Romania Germany had obtained access to the granaries of that country and had to that extent neutralised the effect of the blockade, but there was definite evidence that despite this the internal condition of Germany was becoming serious, and our captures on the Western Front showed that she was embarrassed by the lack of many kinds of raw material.

Great Britain had still a number of divisions to send to France, where the fighting-strength of her Army had grown to about 1,200,000 men, but it would not be possible for her to create any more divisions, and her fighting-strength would reach its maximum in the middle of 1917. Indeed, the fullest use could only be made of the divisions already formed by the resolute application of the principle of National Service so that they might be maintained at full strength. Two events which had occurred in 1916 had limited the development of our military strength abroad. The first of these, the Irish rebellion of May, had been speedily repressed, but it had left a legacy of suspicion and unrest which made necessary the retention of a considerable garrison in Ireland and prevented the full employment of the manhood of that country. The second was the increase in number and destructive power of the enemy's air attacks upon Great Britain. The Zeppelin raids had done little more than strengthen the determination of the British people that Germany must at all costs be defeated, but in the autumn of 1916 aeroplanes began making night raids, and on June 13, 1917 a German air squadron flying in formation raided London in broad daylight, causing much destruction and loss of life. These attacks made necessary a large increase in our air defences and the retention in England of many men, aeroplanes and guns.

The strength of the French Army had at the beginning of 1917 been increased to about 2,600,000 combatants, and the fighting-strength of the Allies on the Western Front was then about 3,820,000 men against 2,200,000 Germans. Joffre declared that the French Army would maintain its strength for one more great battle, but that thereafter that strength would diminish steadily, as France would not have the men to replace losses and keep her divisions at their full establishment. He therefore warned Sir Douglas Haig that during the coming year the burden must fall more and more upon the British Army, a position which the British Commander-in-Chief readily accepted. Germany had recently created a number of new divisions, some of which had been employed against Romania; but the occupation of Romania put a fresh burden on Germany, and the Russian Armies were at last well supplied with munitions and had been very successful in the autumn campaign of 1916 in the Ukrain and Galicia, so that it did not appear probable that Germany would be able to transfer many troops from Russia to France. This, together with the prospective decline of the French Army and the forthcoming final reinforcement of the

British Army, made it appear that the relative superiority of the Allies on the Western Front would be greater in the spring of 1917 than at any time which could be foreseen with certainty. For all these reasons it was decided to follow up as quickly as possible the advantage won in the battle of the Somme and to continue to exhaust the enemy's reserves as preparation for a decisive effort, and it was agreed that the armies on the Western Front were to be ready to attack in the first fortnight of February—the British Army between the Vimy Ridge and Bapaume, and the French Armies between the Somme and the Oise, this French attack to be followed soon after by another in Champagne to the west of Reims. There was also a general agreement between Joffre and Haig that these attacks should be followed by further attacks by the British Army in Flanders, and that Haig should, as far as his resources and the state of his troops permitted, press the enemy on the Somme battlefield during the winter and so prevent him from recovering from his embarrassment there.

Immediately after this conference Joffre issued general instructions embodying the decisions reached; and in these instructions he directed that the British and French armies were to be ready to attack between Vimy and Bapaume and between the Somme and the Oise respectively by February 1. No sooner were Joffre's plans completed than a series of intrigues against the French Commander-in-Chief came to a head. A number of officers of the French General Staff regarded the proposal to give more and more of the task of consummating victory to the British Army as a slur upon their country and their army. They found support in Paris, where there were many politicians who feared that the process of wearing down the enemy's reserves would end in exhausting France before it exhausted Germany. The result was a sudden change in the French higher command. Foch, whose costly attacks upon the Vimy Ridge had not been forgotten, was placed on half-pay, while Joffre was removed from command, made a Marshal of France and given an honorific position in Paris, Nivelle, one of the heroes of Verdun, taking his place.

The new Commander-in-Chief at once made a drastic change in Joffre's policy and plans. He wished to increase the size and power of the French attack arranged by his predecessor, and in order that he might obtain the French troops necessary he proposed that the British should relieve the 6th and 10th French Armies and extend their front southwards across the

Somme as far as the Amiens—Roye road. As this would take time and make a heavy call upon the British Army, he proposed that Haig should reduce the pressure on the Germans on the Somme battlefield during the winter and that the date of the combined attacks should be postponed until March 15. This meant not only a delay of six weeks in launching the attacks planned by Joffre, but that the enemy would have leisure to recover from the effects of the Somme. But it became clear, as Nivelle's plans developed, that there was to be an even more complete change of plan than this. He proposed to apply on a great scale the methods he had employed with such success at Verdun and to return to the policy which had been discarded after the failure in Champagne in 1915. He intended by skilful employment of a great mass of artillery to overcome the enemy's resistance in his front lines and then to attack with a great reserve which should burst completely through the trench-barrier and restore a war of movement on the Western Front.

Early in December 1916 Mr. Asquith's Government had fallen and Mr. Lloyd George had become Prime Minister. Mr. Lloyd George had never looked with favour upon the policy of attacking the trench-barrier in the West, and he had been horrified by the slaughter of the battle of the Somme, which he regarded as a costly failure. One of his first acts as Prime Minister was to propose that a large reinforcement should be sent from France to the Italian Army and that a great effort should be made to knock out Austria. However, before this plan could be worked out in detail, he heard of Nivelle's scheme, and was quite ready to welcome a Commander-in-Chief who offered so attractive an alternative to the slow bludgeon work of the Somme as a short and decisive battle.

So it was agreed by the French and British Governments at a conference held at Calais at the end of February that the British Army should be placed under the orders of Nivelle. This decision repeated an error which had been made by the Germans at the beginning of the war. Von Bülow, the Commander of the 2nd German Army, had been, while still in command of that army, given control of von Kluck's 1st Army as well during the first invasion of Belgium, and this had been one of the causes of the failure of the initial German plan of campaign, for a general whose activities and attention are absorbed by one command cannot simultaneously direct another command with effect.

The results of this mistake, which was one of organisation and would still have been a mistake whether Nivelle or another

had been placed at the head of the French Army, were soon evident. On the last day of the Calais Conference news arrived from the British 5th Army that the Germans were withdrawing in the valley of the Ancre. Ere this it had been discovered that the enemy had constructed a great new system of defensive works covering Douai, Cambrai and St. Quentin, the system which became known to the Allies as the Hindenburg Line, and early in March there were indications that the Germans were preparing to retire from the whole of the Somme battlefield into this line. But Nivelle, not being in close touch with happenings on the British front, did not believe in a German retreat, and he issued to Haig orders which were not compatible with the changed situation and in other respects went far beyond the agreement reached in Calais. This led to friction, which was adjusted at a further Conference in London. By then it had become apparent that the Germans were in retreat on the whole front between Arras and the Aisne near Vailly. The Germans, relieved from pressure on their front during the winter, had prepared for their retreat systematically and brutally. The whole country which had been in their occupation west of the Hindenburg Line was devastated, villages were burnt, roads and railways destroyed, fruit-trees cut down and everything of any value removed, and mines which exploded at a touch were prepared with devilish ingenuity. In these circumstances a rapid pursuit became impossible, and the Germans were able to delay the advance of the Allies by rear-guards while they removed their heavy artillery and established their main bodies in and behind the Hindenburg system.

Bapaume was entered on March 17 and Péronne on the following day, but the British troops were not in touch with the Hindenburg system until the first week of April, the enemy's withdrawal extending at its greatest depth to about thirty miles. Our right then joined the French left at a point just north of St. Quentin. This retreat, planned and successfully carried through by Ludendorff, effected a great change in the situation to the benefit of the Germans. Not only did it materially shorten their front and thereby enable them to increase their reserves, but their troops exchanged the battered defences of the Somme battlefield with its awkward salients for the strongest lines which had yet been built upon the Western Front. The enemy had withdrawn from a considerable part of the front which Nivelle had intended to attack, and as he still adhered to the main features of his plan, this made a further postponement necessary while troops, guns and munitions were brought for-

ward. In the altered circumstances grave doubts arose in the minds of some of the senior French generals, and these, coming to the ears of the French War Minister, M. Painlevé, he assembled a Council of War on April 6, the very eve of the offensive, at which criticisms of the plan were presented by certain of the commanders who were to take a leading part in its execution. Nevertheless, the French Government decided not to interfere with General Nivelle. It is difficult to conceive of a more unfortunate prelude to a great campaign.

None the less the campaign opened auspiciously. The British part in it consisted in an attack by Allenby's 3rd Army on the enemy's front east of Arras combined with an attack by the Canadian Corps and by a portion of the 5th Division under General Byng on the Vimy Ridge. Byng's troops formed part of the 1st Army, now commanded by General Horne, Sir Charles Monro having gone to India as Commander-in-Chief with a special mission to expand the Indian Army and develop the military resources of India. A bombardment which lasted with varying degrees of intensity for three weeks preceded the battle of Arras, the infantry, assisted by a considerable number of tanks, attacking on April 9. Allenby's men, advancing on either side of the Arras—Cambrai road, won their way through the strongest and most intricate defences yet attacked by British troops, while Byng's Canadians stormed the Vimy Ridge, which had for so long resisted Foch's assaults, and pressed down its northern slopes to the village of Vimy and the outskirts of Lens. At the end of the first stage of the battle on April 15, more than 13,000 prisoners and 200 guns had been captured, and in the Vimy Ridge we had gained a bastion of defence which was to stand us in good stead in the dark days of the spring of 1918. Of greater importance in its influence on the campaign as a whole was the fact that the Germans had been forced to send up reinforcements to an extent which more than doubled their original strength on the battle-front. The British Army had more than fulfilled the task allotted to it by Nivelle.

The second of Nivelle's attacks was to have been delivered by the group of armies of the centre under Franchet d'Esperey against the German front in the neighbourhood of St. Quentin; but Franchet d'Esperey was there in contact with a part of the main Hindenburg Line, and had not had the time, nor did he possess the means, to prepare effectively for an attack upon these formidable defences. The operations of the centre group of armies which had been intended to be an important part of Nivelle's programme therefore dwindled on April 14 into little

more than a demonstration. Nivelle's main battle, which took place on the front between Reims and Anizy, began on April 16. It had been planned that the assaulting troops should, on the first day of battle, break through the first three German lines, but the left attack failed; and elsewhere, though the first German line was captured, little progress was made beyond it. The dream of a rapid rupture of the enemy's front had to be abandoned, and a fresh plan of battle had to be formed.

One of the first results of the failure of Nivelle to realise his hopes was that he had to request Haig to press his attacks to the east of Arras with all possible vigour, so as to keep the largest possible number of Germans occupied in that quarter. This entailed a prolongation of the battle of Arras into a period when gains became small and were only purchased at great price. None the less Haig decided that the situation made it necessary that we should support our Ally with all our power, and he fought on till May 17, by which time our front was established some four miles to the east of Arras and in the plain to the east of the Vimy Ridge. By then we had captured 19,500 prisoners, 257 guns, 464 machine-guns and 227 trench-mortars. While Haig was thus battling in the north, Nivelle on the Aisne front had won his way up the Chemin des Dames ridge, of which he captured the eastern portion. But early in May it was quite evident that there was no prospect of such a break through as had been planned, and on the 15th the French Government replaced Nivelle by General Pétain, while General Foch became Chief of the Staff in Paris. Pétain's first task was to wind up the operations on the Aisne front, and the battle ended definitely on May 20.

The Spring Campaign had proved a failure in comparison with what might have been, and still more in comparison with what Nivelle had promised, but its results were far from being insignificant. The German retreat in March, which was a direct consequence of the battle of the Somme, had at last brought about the attainment of one of the objects for which Joffre had been striving for so long. The Allies had now more elbow-room on one of the most vital parts of their front, that which covered directly the roads to Amiens and Paris. Had the Germans in March 1918 started from the positions which they held in February 1917, and had their attacks progressed at the same rate, they would have entered Amiens on the second day of the battle, which would have ended with the German guns bombarding Abbeville and communications between the French and British Armies severed. It is therefore not too much to say

that the retreat which was forced upon the Germans by the battle of the Somme saved the Allies in the following year, but how much greater might the results have been if the plan formed by Joffre and Haig in the previous November had been followed, if the Germans had been pressed on the Somme battlefield during the winter and if they had been attacked early in February before their plans for retreat had been completed! Despite all the difficulties with which the successful conduct of that retreat by the Germans had confronted them, the Allied Armies had in the battles of April and May captured 62,000 prisoners, 446 guns and 1,000 machine-guns, and had gained positions of the first importance; 57 divisions had been compelled to fight upon the French front and 99 on the British front. Had Nivelle been content to follow Joffre's example and to prepare methodically for the exhaustion of the German reserves without overtaxing the endurance of the sorely-tried French Army before attempting to break through the enemy's lines, he might have claimed a conspicuous success for his first campaign. But the hopes which he had roused had been extravagant, and the dejection when they were not realised was correspondingly great, dejection which was increased by the news of the Russian Revolution, by exaggerated reports of the losses in the Aisne battles, and hardly alleviated by America's entry into the war, for it was well understood that American troops could not be ready to take their places in the firing-line during 1917. The immediate consequence of this dejection was the outbreak of a series of mutinies in the French armies, which so affected the *moral* of the French troops that Pétain found it necessary to appeal to Haig to keep the enemy engaged while he restored the confidence of his men.

If the attention of the Germans was to be occupied by the British armies it was necessary that they should be forced to fight. Upon any part of the British front south of the point where it bent southwards from the Belgian frontier north-west of Lille it was possible for the Germans to repeat their manœuvre of March and avoid a battle by retiring into another system of defences, for in doing this they would be merely abandoning a portion of French territory which was of no great value to them, while they might by this method economise sufficient troops to enable them to fall upon the French. On the Belgian front they could not fall back without risking their hold upon the ports of Ostend and Zeebrugge, which were to them important bases for their submarine campaign, and without endangering the security of the chief aerodromes from which

their air attacks upon England were made. For these reasons Haig decided to press the enemy with all his available means upon the Belgian front, and on June 7 he began this campaign with the battle of Messines. This battle was most skilfully and thoroughly prepared by Sir Herbert Plumer, and was fought and won by his 2nd Army. The battle began with the explosion of a number of huge mines, the secret of which had been preserved by constant and devoted watchfulness on the part of the miners, who had tunnelled beneath the enemy's lines many months previously and waited patiently the opportunity for their use. The effect of these explosions, combined with a very skilfully planned bombardment of massed guns of all calibres, was such that, except on the right of the attack in the neighbourhood of Messines, the infantry, for once, had little to do. The whole of the Messines—Wytschaete ridge was captured at comparatively very light cost, together with 7,200 prisoners, 67 guns, 94 trench-mortars and 294 machine-guns, and the salient of Ypres, which had been a name of ill omen for the British Army since October 1914, was straightened out.

Plumer's brilliant success, which was as much a victory won by the British artillery as the first phase of the battle of Verdun had been a victory for the German artillery, was a great encouragement to our army. To have won possession of heights from which the enemy had looked down into our lines since October 1914, and to have won them without such sacrifice of life as every other great attack upon the enemy's entrenchments had cost, were reasons for thankfulness and joy, and the spirit of the Army had never been higher. Its strength was at its greatest, and Haig now commanded sixty-four divisions and five cavalry divisions. He had a great mass of heavy guns and was assured of an almost unlimited supply of shell, for under the Ministry of Munitions the manufacturing resources of our country had been completely mobilised for war. Our airmen, though they had had to fight hard since the reorganisation of the German air service after its defeat in the battle of the Somme, maintained their supremacy, and in mining and the employment of poison gas we had caught up and passed the enemy. Kitchener, in one of his flashes of inspiration, had said early in 1915 that the British Army would be at its zenith in the middle of 1917, and his words had come true. It was well that it was so, for the Russian Revolution and the dull despair of the French Army after Nivelle's failure had changed the military situation of the Allies in the West profoundly for the worse.

In the East Maude in Mesopotamia had won a triumph. Beginning on December 13, 1916 a slow and methodical attack upon the enemy's lines covering Qut, he had gradually worn down the resistance of the Turks and driven them back on the right bank of the Tigris towards the river. On February 6 he was ready for his decisive effort, and that effort had by the 15th driven the enemy from the right bank. Then crossing the river he got behind the Turks on the left bank and ended a brilliantly planned and stoutly fought battle with the complete rout of the opposing army. Following up this victory with a promptness which was made possible by the care and thought given during long months in the previous year to the organisation of the line of communications, he entered Baghdad on March 11 and so restored to British arms in the East the lustre which the surrender of Qut had dimmed. It then seemed well within the bounds of possibility that Maude would be able to join hands with the Russian forces in the hills of north-west Persia and form a permanent and impenetrable barrier to the German "Drang nach Osten." But the day after Maude's entry into Baghdad the Russian Revolution broke out, and the Russian forces in Asia were at first paralysed and then gradually faded away, leaving behind them an aftermath of trouble for us to reap.

Fortune was even less kind to Murray's army on the eastern edge of the desert of Sinai. The Turks had entrenched positions covering Gaza and along the southern frontier of Palestine, but early in 1917 they had been compelled by Maude's activities to send troops from Syria to Mesopotamia, and there appeared to be an opportunity of striking at them again while they were depressed by the loss of Baghdad, and of establishing our troops in Palestine, where they would obtain more relief during the hot weather than in the arid desert. Murray asked for two more divisions, but when these could not be given him he agreed to do his best with the four divisions and the cavalry division which he commanded, and he attacked the Turkish lines at Gaza on March 27. The Turks were taken by surprise and our cavalry got into Gaza; but a dense sea-fog prevented the proper timing of the infantry attack, and it was not pressed home. For a second attack made on April 19 the enemy were prepared, and it failed. Thereafter Sir A. Murray was succeeded in the command by Sir E. Allenby, Sir Julian Byng taking Allenby's place at the head of the 3rd Army in France.

At Salonika the position had been sensibly improved by the abdication of Constantine on June 11 and the advent of M. Venizelos to power at Athens, an event which was followed by

the declaration of war by Greece against Germany and Bulgaria and promised the eventual co-operation of the Greek Army. But the collapse of the Russian Army would certainly release large German and Austrian forces, of which a part might find employment in Macedonia, where our troops were on one flank faced by the broad Struma and on the other by a mountain barrier, so that no decisive action which would anticipate the arrival of such a reinforcement was possible.

The condition of the Russian Army was not yet hopeless. On May 19 the new Government of Russia had issued a declaration repudiating a separate peace, while in June Brusilov had succeeded Alexeiev as Commander-in-Chief and was preparing an offensive in Galicia, an offensive which began on July 1 and at first won some success. It therefore seemed possible that if the German Army in the West were kept fully occupied, the Russian Army might yet recover, whilst it was certain that inactivity by the Allies in the West would precipitate the threatened collapse.

The entry of the United States of America into the war on April 6 had brought the Allies immediate and valuable aid in shipping and finance, but the first contingent of American troops did not reach France until June 25. It was calculated that it would be a year at least before any large American force would take part in battle on the Western Front, and in the meantime it was urgent that the Germans should make no great attack upon the French Army until Pétain had had time to restore its *moral.*

It was in these circumstances and with this heavy burden upon his shoulders that Haig began on July 31 the third battle of Ypres. The first object was to gain possession of the Passchendaele Ridge, so as to be able to sweep with gun-fire the plains beyond it towards Zeebrugge and Ostend. This achieved, a combined naval and military attack, secretly prepared in England, was to be made on the Belgian coast, which it was hoped would give us possession of the ports and so relieve the British Admiralty of some of the many anxieties caused by the German " U " boats. In preparation for the landing we took over from the French the lines on the Belgian coast at Lombaertzyde near Nieuport and moved other troops up to the coast behind these lines. The position at Lombaertzyde, which consisted of a narrow strip of ground, with the Yser at its back, was not easy to hold against determined attacks, and before our preparations for defence were completed the Germans attacked on July 10 and captured an important portion of the lines east

of the river. This was an inauspicious beginning, but worse followed, for immediately after the battle began the weather broke ; and there followed a rainfall quite unprecedented for the month of August.

The plan of battle was to deliver a series of blows, each with an objective limited by the support which the artillery could give without changing position. It was believed that the experience of Messines and of the French at Verdun had shown that this would allow the infantry to reach their objective without heavy loss. Ludendorff, however, met this method of attack by a new method which he called the elastic system of defence. He made no attempt to hold his front lines in strength, but withdrew the bulk of his infantry from the zone which would be most heavily bombarded, and relied mainly upon machine-guns in concrete " pill-boxes " to break up our infantry attack, and upon counter-attacks by the troops whom he had held back to put a term to our progress.

But it was less this method of defence than the mud of Flanders which prevented progress. The opening attack of July 31 gave us possession of the whole of the Pilkem Ridge, of the Germans' first line of defence between Nordschoote and Klein Zillebeke, a front of ten miles, and of the greater part of the German second line ; but it was not until September 20 that the enemy's third line was penetrated, and not until October 4 that we were established on the high ground between Broodseinde and Becelaere. The difficulty of getting guns and ammunition forward through the slough of mud prevented the delivery of a rapid succession of blows, and a more terrible strain was imposed upon the troops than in any other battle of the war. As in the case of the battle of the Somme, the first-fruits of the third battle of Ypres were reaped elsewhere than on the battle-front. The Germans, forced to send more and more troops into the fiery furnace which blazed on the Ypres ridges, were compelled to leave the French alone ; and Pétain had time to restore the confidence of his army.

Part of his method was the delivery of very carefully prepared attacks on a comparatively small front supported by a great mass of artillery which should leave the infantry little more to do than to occupy the ground won. The first of these attacks was made on the Verdun front on August 20, and by September 9 the French had regained all the ground which the Germans had won in six months' fighting in 1916. This was followed by a more important attack delivered on October 23 which gave the French the whole of the Chemin des Dames Ridge, and resulted in the

capture of 11,000 prisoners and 230 guns. Then and not till then did Pétain express himself as satisfied that his immediate purpose was achieved.

The British troops, struggling in the mud of Flanders, could not be given the reasons which had called for a supreme effort from them, and the terrible struggle through the mud, unrelieved by any conspicuous success, told heavily upon them. As events turned out it would probably have been wiser to have brought the third battle of Ypres to a close immediately after the French had won the Chemin des Dames; but at that time our troops were within a short distance of the crest of the Passchendaele Ridge, whilst information received at General Headquarters showed that the strain upon the German Army had been far greater than that upon our own troops, and that there had been a very appreciable lowering of the *moral* of the German forces—information which has since been amply confirmed by Ludendorff himself; and Haig had yet another blow in preparation. The continued bad weather and the slowness of the progress made had caused the abandonment of the project of landing on the Belgian coast, and all hope of driving the Germans from the Belgian ports had gone; but there still appeared to be an opportunity of profiting from the exhaustion of the German reserves before the winter gave them a period for recovery, as it had after the battle of the Somme. A final reason for continuing the struggle was that on October 24 an Austro-German attack had been launched in Italy and at Caporetto had broken through the Italian lines. It was therefore of importance to keep up the pressure upon the Germans in the Western Front. So the third battle of Ypres was continued until the ridge and village of Passchendaele were captured on November 6. In three and a half months' fighting we had taken 24,065 prisoners, 74 guns, 941 machine-guns and 138 trench-mortars, and had engaged 78 German divisions.

A fortnight later Haig unmasked the further attack which he had secretly prepared, and Byng's 3rd Army attacked the German front opposite Cambrai. This battle opened a new era in trench-warfare. One of the outstanding difficulties which the trench-barrier had created was that it had hitherto eliminated one of the chief resources of generalship, surprise. The time and labour required to prepare for a great bombardment and the accumulation of the huge stores of material of war on the selected front of battle made it impossible to conceal intentions from the enemy. But at Cambrai these difficulties were overcome by using a great number of tanks, brought up secretly, to take

the place of the bombardment in breaking the enemy's defences. The attack was made on November 20 upon one of the strongest parts of the Hindenburg system, but the tanks successfully broke through and the surprise was complete. Bourlon village and wood were captured, and our troops penetrated almost to the outskirts of Cambrai, taking 10,500 prisoners, 142 guns and 350 machine-guns. At Messines the guns had left nothing for the tanks to do, and in the third battle of Ypres they had been defeated by the mud of Flanders; but at Cambrai they came into their own. One thing alone was lacking as far as their part in the battle went. The co-operation between the tanks and the artillery in the later stages of the attack was not complete, and numbers of tanks fell easy victims to the German guns, a lesson which was assimilated to our profit in 1918.

Of greater importance was the fact that six French and five British divisions had been ordered to Italy to help the Italian Army to stem the disaster of Caporetto, so that Haig had not the troops to complete and extend the first successes won at Cambrai. It is a typical instance of the advantage which their central position conferred upon the Germans that several of the British divisions which would have been invaluable at Cambrai had not reached the Italian front at the time when the Austro-Germans were checked on the Piave and the battle of Caporetto came to an end. While the issue of the two battles was being decided they were in the trains. So when on November 30 the Germans attacked both flanks of the salient which Byng's advance had created, they were able to win back a great part of the ground which had been gained and to capture from us nearly as many guns and prisoners as we had won from them. The attacks on Bourlon Wood were all repulsed, but the enemy broke through the right of the salient at Gonnelieu and the troops holding Bourlon had to fall back. The battle of Cambrai ended on December 7 in one more disappointment for the Allies.

The campaign of 1917 on the Western Front had been fatally hampered by the change of plan which had been made by Nivelle when he succeeded Joffre. That change had permitted Ludendorff to prepare for and carry through the retreat into the Hindenburg Line and had postponed the date of the Allied offensive from February 1, the date fixed by Joffre, until April 9—a delay of nine precious weeks. As Joffre had anticipated, it had been necessary for the British Army to bear the brunt of the fighting, but it would have done so under very different conditions if the Germans had in March been hustled back into the Hindenburg Line, as they were in September 1918,

if Messines had been fought at the beginning of April and the third battle of Ypres had begun on May 30 instead of July 31. The battle of Cambrai might then have synchronised with the last offensive of the Russian Army, and the combined effect might well have been such as to have saved that army from dissolution, for adequate French and British reserves would have been available in France to support Byng's attack and we might have ended the war victoriously in the autumn of 1917. As it was, the battles of 1917 showed clearly that the solution of the problem of trench-warfare at which Haig and Joffre had arrived was correct. It was first necessary to exhaust the German reserves and then to strike a surprise blow or a series of surprise blows. Cambrai had shown how surprise might be achieved. But all this experience, which had been purchased at great cost, had been acquired too late to be put to profit in 1917.

In the East Maude and Allenby obtained for us some compensation for our disappointments in the West. Maude, after establishing himself in Baghdad, taking advantage of his central position, struck out north up the Tigris, then north-east towards the Persian frontier, and lastly westwards up the Euphrates, where at Ramadiya on September 28 he had inflicted another defeat on the Turks. He thus cleared a semicircle round Baghdad to any point of which reinforcements could be sent quickly from the centre, while for the enemy the only lines of approach across the deserts to the city were the divergent river valleys. These defensive measures were the more necessary because the Turks were reported to be assembling troops in the neighbourhood of Aleppo for an attempt to recover Baghdad. But our fortunes in Mesopotamia were sadly clouded when the man to whose skilful leadership, fine courage and high moral qualities our changed position in that theatre of war was primarily due was struck down, and Maude died of cholera in Baghdad on November 18.

When news came of a Turkish concentration at Aleppo it was agreed that it would be easier to send reinforcements to Allenby than to Mesopotamia and would take less shipping, a very vital matter at a time when the food supply of Great Britain was in danger from the unlimited " U " boat warfare, which the Germans had inaugurated in February, and when the provision of transports for the American Army across the Atlantic was a grave problem. The easiest counter to the threatened Turkish move was therefore an attack in Palestine which should retain the enemy's reserves in Syria. Allenby

was therefore reinforced. On October 31 he turned the left flank of the Turkish position on the southern frontier of Palestine and captured Beersheba. Then, rolling up the Turkish lines from east to west, he captured Gaza on November 7 and, following up this victory with an energetic and cunningly planned pursuit, he occupied Ascalon on the 10th and Jaffa on November 17. Turning eastwards into the hills of Judaea, he again defeated the harassed enemy and received the surrender of Jerusalem on December 9, entering the sacred city on foot on the following day.

This triumphant campaign gave new impetus to the discussion whether our military policy should not be offensive in the East and defensive in the West, at least until the Americans could take the field in strength. This discussion was raging when the year closed, with peace negotiations in train between Germany and Russia at Brest-Litovsk, and German divisions moving into France and Belgium as fast as the railways could carry them west from Russia.

## XXII

## 1918

One of the results of the disaster which befell the Italian Army in October 1917 was the assembly of a conference of Allied statesmen at Rapallo, where, on November 9 of that year, it was decided to create a Supreme War Council of the Allies for the Western Front with Headquarters at Versailles. To assist this Council permanent military representatives, who though not members of the Council were its chief military advisers, were appointed; General Weygand, Foch's right-hand man, being the French representative, Sir Henry Wilson the British representative, while General Cadorna and General Bliss respectively represented Italy and the United States. The formation of this Council was a great step forward in the co-ordination of Allied policy, but such a body acting through its military representatives could not pretend to exercise executive military control, and the functions of the military representatives were purely advisory. Towards the end of 1917 it became increasingly evident that unity of command on the Western Front in some form was necessary. As long as the initiative had rested with the Allies it had not been a difficult matter for the Commanders-in-Chief to agree together upon plans of

attack, and upon the times when those attacks should be delivered, but the collapse of Russia and the rapid transference of German troops to the Western Front made it clear that there the Allies would have to act upon the defensive, at least until the arrival of American troops turned the balance in their favour. In such circumstances it was a simple matter for the Germans to play upon the fears of the French and British Commanders-in-Chief, and to threaten attack upon one army whilst concentrating against the other. The only effective reply to such a menace was to constitute over the French and British Commanders-in-Chief a supreme authority which could review the whole front as one problem and take promptly suitable executive action. The Supreme War Council therefore met at the end of January 1918 to consider how such an authority could be constituted.

The situation which confronted the Supreme War Council was very serious. Since the middle of 1917 the French Army had been declining in strength, as France had no longer the men to replace her losses and Pétain had been compelled first to reduce the strength of his divisions, and then to cut down the number of those divisions. Five British and six French divisions had been transferred to Italy, and it had been decided to send the Indian cavalry from France to reinforce Allenby. The British Army was not receiving from home the drafts required to replace the losses caused by the fighting at Passchendaele and Cambrai, and early in 1918 Haig was compelled to follow the example of the French and to reduce the strength of his divisions. In April 1917 there had been in France and Belgium 64 British, 108 French and 6 Belgian divisions, opposed to 108 German divisions. At the beginning of 1918 there were 59 British, 98 French, 6 Belgian and 2 Portuguese divisions, a total of 165, opposed to 175 German divisions. The reduction in the strength of the British and French divisions had been offset, to some extent, by a corresponding reduction in the size of the German divisions, but there were still large German reinforcements ready to be transferred to France from the Russian front, and in fact thirty-two more German divisions were so transferred. The Allies could only obtain additional divisions for the Western Front by withdrawing them from Palestine, Salonika and Italy, but the British statesmen desired an offensive in Palestine, the French statesmen were opposed to any further weakening of the Macedonian front, and the Italian statesmen were strongly adverse to any diminution of the Allied contingents in Italy.

In these circumstances the Supreme War Council decided on the creation of an Executive Committee composed of the military representatives with General Foch as President, its functions being to form a general reserve for the Western Front, to determine the location of that reserve, and to issue orders for its employment. This measure was an unsatisfactory compromise, for it placed executive military command in the hands of a committee. This is always objectionable, for a committee is very rarely able to act with that promptness and decision which is the very essence of military command; and instead of unifying the command on the Western Front it still further complicated that command, for it left the British and French Commanders-in-Chief in control of the greater part of their armies, but it took a part of their troops away from them and placed that part under an independent authority. Difficulties at once arose. Sir William Robertson was unable to agree to the principles involved in the creation of the Executive Military Committee and was removed from the position of Chief of the Imperial General Staff, being succeeded by Sir Henry Wilson, whose place at Versailles was taken by Sir Henry Rawlinson. But a greater difficulty arose on the creation of the general reserve.

Toward the end of 1917 M. Clémenceau, who had become Premier in France on November 18, had brought great pressure to bear upon the British Government to induce them to order an extension of the British front in France. The French were able to make out a very strong case on paper for this extension, as, despite the reduction in the strength of their armies, they still held two-thirds of the front. But Haig and Robertson opposed the extension on the grounds that the British Army had borne the brunt of the fighting during the latter half of 1917, and that it required rest and training, and above all because by far the greater number of the German divisions transferred from Russia were being placed behind the German lines opposite the British front. Nevertheless, M. Clémenceau was so insistent that Haig was directed to extend his right by relieving the French troops as far south as the Oise. This extension was carried out by Gough's 5th Army. In consequence of the additional burden thus thrown on him, and of the continual increase of the German strength on his front, Haig represented that he could not supply the British contingent to the general reserve asked for by the Executive Committee without imperilling his front, and at a further meeting of the Supreme War Council in London on March 14 and 15 the formation

of the general reserve was postponed. A week later the Germans struck.

On March 21, after a short but very heavy bombardment, sixty-four German divisions attacked Byng's 3rd Army and Gough's 5th Army between Croisilles, seven miles S.S.E. of Arras, and the Oise near La Fère, a front of over fifty miles, forty of these divisions falling upon Gough's fourteen divisions. The enemy had played his game skilfully, for he had threatened attack both upon the northern part of the British front and upon the French front in the neighbourhood of Reims, and his reserves were so placed before the battle that they could have been moved as rapidly in either of these directions as towards the Arras—St. Quentin front. The attack on that front did not come as a surprise ; Haig's Intelligence Department had predicted the actual day of the attack, but it was by no means certain that this would be the main German effort. The security of the Channel ports was a vital matter to us, and an advance by the Germans of twenty miles in Flanders might have been fatal. Haig therefore felt himself compelled to keep his reserves north of the Somme ; south of that river he could better afford to lose ground, and his troops in that quarter could be most speedily reinforced by the French. Both he and Pétain had arranged before the battle for mutual support in the event of a great German attack, and it had been agreed that Gough should be reinforced by the French if the attack were made on the St. Quentin front. It was for these reasons that Gough's front was so weakly held when the battle began.

On March 21 the Germans did not make any real impression on the battle-positions of the 3rd and 5th Armies, but on the next day they broke through those positions on Gough's right centre, and forced the British troops in that part of the field to retire behind the St. Crozat Canal, thus uncovering Gough's line farther north. The right flank of the 5th Army, which rested on the River Oise, had been regarded, both by the French when they held that part of the front, and by ourselves when we took it over, as easily defensible ; but a protracted drought, which preceded the battle, had dried up the usually marshy valley of the Oise, and the Germans were able to cross the river at many places under cover of a thick fog and so to break up the defence. Gough then fell back behind the Somme, pressed hard by the pursuing Germans. The garrisons of many of Gough's defensive works held out long after the Germans had streamed past them and fought it out to the last, but the enemy's superiority in numbers was so overwhelming that

the action of these gallant men could not materially delay his progress. Meanwhile the attacks upon Gough's men north of the Somme, and upon Byng's 3rd Army, were being relentlessly pressed.

It had been agreed between Pétain and Haig that, in the event of heavy German attacks north of the Somme, the French should take over the line south of that river, and as early as the 22nd the first troops of General Pellé's Corps had arrived to support Gough's right; but this reinforcement proved insufficient to check the enemy's progress. On March 24 the Germans captured Péronne and the next day forced their way across the Somme near that town, having already got across both the upper Somme and the St. Crozat Canal. It was in these conditions that General Fayolle arrived to take command of the battlefield south of the Somme, but, though Humbert's 3rd Army and Debeney's 1st Army had been ordered up by Pétain, Fayolle had as yet no adequate assistance to bring to Gough. On Fayolle's arrival Haig had placed that portion of Gough's Army which was north of the Somme under Byng. On March 25 the Germans drove in Byng's new right, and compelled it to retire behind the Ancre, thus exposing Gough's flank and forcing him to withdraw to the outskirts of Villers-Bretonneux.

The position was then highly critical. Haig, in view of the danger to his line north of the Somme, could send no reinforcements to Gough, and it appeared highly probable that, unless Pétain could support the 5th Army at once, the Germans would get into Amiens and sever communication between the French and British Armies. Pétain, in view of the rapid progress the enemy was making in the direction of Montdidier, felt it to be above all things necessary to bar the roads to Paris, and could not see his way to help Gough on the Amiens front. In these circumstances, at Haig's instigation, a conference was held at Doullens on March 26, at which Lord Milner and Sir Henry Wilson, representing the British Government, and the French President and M. Clémenceau representing the French Government, met Haig, Pétain and Foch. At this conference it was agreed that Foch should "co-ordinate the action of the Allied Armies on the Western Front." And so unity of command, though in a somewhat tentative form, became a fact.

Foch's immediate object was to maintain at all costs connection between the French and British Armies. With this as a settled policy the worst of the crisis was over, for the enemy too had his difficulties. The discipline of the German troops was

no longer what it had been, numbers of them stopping to loot the masses of our stores which fell into their hands. Further, the leading troops were becoming exhausted, and there was great difficulty in relieving them and in bringing up to them supplies and ammunition across the broken battlefield. The remnant of Gough's Army, therefore, fighting with superb gallantry, and reinforced by every man who could be brought up from the army schools and lines of communication, was able to hold Villers-Bretonneux and to close the direct road to Amiens.

Ludendorff, appreciating the difficulty of opening the way to Amiens, on March 28 endeavoured to extend the front of battle northwards so as to obtain more elbow-room, and made a great attack in the direction of Arras, upon the left of Byng's 3rd Army and the right of Horne's 1st Army. This attack was completely repulsed with very heavy loss to the Germans, and from this repulse may be dated the failure of the great German effort to divide the Allied Armies. On the southern front of battle the enemy, who had captured Montdidier, was checked beyond that place by the arrival of French reinforcements, and on April 4 and 5 a renewed attempt to break through to Amiens was repulsed; after this the battle died away in a series of intermittent local attacks which brought the enemy little advantage.

Foiled in his attempt to drive a wedge between the British and French Armies, Ludendorff on April 9 began a fresh effort in Flanders, where Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria had for some time been prepared to attack. The German assault was made on the front near Neuve Chapelle held by Portuguese troops, of which two divisions had since the summer of 1917 joined the British Army. It had been intended that the Portuguese should have been relieved on April 10, but Prince Rupprecht anticipated this relief and at once gained an important success. The 1st and 2nd British Armies in Flanders had been weakened in order to supply reinforcements for the 3rd and 5th Armies on the Somme, and the number of the divisions sent south by them had been replaced by others which had borne the brunt of the Somme fighting and had been hastily reconstituted with drafts sent out from England. These divisions which had gone north in the hope of finding some rest were now once more involved in the maelstrom of battle. On April 11 the Germans captured the Messines—Wytschaete Ridge and entered Armentières and Merville, while on April 15 they captured Bailleul, Plumer being compelled to shorten his front in the Ypres salient

and to abandon all the ground which had been won at such cost in the third battle of Ypres. But just as, at the battle of the Somme, Horne's and Byng's men had on March 28 prevented the enemy from widening the gap he had made, so now the 55th Division by a splendid defence at Givenchy saved Béthune and prevented the enemy from widening his gap southwards. British reinforcements arriving in the nick of time stayed the enemy's advance in front of the important railway junction of Hazebrouck, and the French troops sent up by Foch were able to reinforce Plumer, who checked the enemy to the south of Ypres.

There then ensued a short pause in the north while the Germans were getting their second wind. To the south, on the Somme battlefield, they made on the 23rd one more effort to break through to Amiens and were for a time in possession of Villers-Bretonneux. Rawlinson, who had left the Supreme War Council and reconstituted the 4th Army on the Amiens front, after the wreck of the 5th Army had been withdrawn and Gough had been sent back to England, saved the situation by a brilliant night-attack in which troops of the 4th and 5th Australian divisions took a leading part. Villers-Bretonneux was recaptured, and the line closing the road to Amiens was re-established. The enemy then resumed his attack in Flanders and on April 25 captured the important Kemmel Hill, held at the time by French troops. He followed up this success by driving the French from Locre. Kemmel Hill had for long been our observatory on the front between Ypres and Armentières, and dominated the country to the north and south. Its loss was therefore a very serious matter, and had the Germans been able to extend their success by gaining the last of the Flanders ridges which lie west of Kemmel, our position in Flanders would have become precarious. This they attempted to do in a great attack delivered on April 28 ; but it was foiled at all points, and with this failure the enemy had shot his bolt in the north. On April 29 the French recaptured Locre and the great battle came to an end.

In the six weeks since March 21 the Germans had attacked with 141 divisions ; of these, 109 had been met and repulsed by 55 infantry divisions and 3 cavalry divisions of Haig's Army, but the enemy's attacks had been stayed at a terrible cost. Our battle casualties had amounted to nearly 400,000 killed, wounded and missing, of whom 80,000 were prisoners of war—while we had lost nearly 800 guns and a vast quantity of military stores and material.

As soon as the news reached England of the extent of the German success in the battle of the Somme the British Government proceeded to take promptly all those measures which Sir William Robertson had pressed on them during the previous winter. Mr. Lloyd George, however, had then believed that the Western Front was amply insured, and had desired to follow up Allenby's capture of Jerusalem by an offensive campaign in Palestine—for Sir Charles Monro in India had been eminently successful in his efforts to expand the Indian Army. Robertson had during the winter proposed that we should adopt a distinctly defensive attitude in Palestine, send back two British divisions from that country to Haig and follow these with a number of British battalions, which were to have been relieved by battalions of Indian troops. These proposals, however, Mr. Lloyd George had vetoed at the time, and preparations were made for an offensive campaign in Palestine. After March 21 this offensive was countermanded, and all the steps which should have been taken as soon as it became evident that the Germans were massing troops on the German front were now taken when the British Army was within an ace of disaster. Large drafts largely composed of boys under nineteen were hurried out from England, British troops were ordered to France from Palestine, Salonika and Italy, and on April 18 a further Military Service Act, extending the liability to military service, was passed through Parliament. So Ludendorff compelled our Government to do that which the persuasion of their own military advisers had failed to bring about.

Mercifully Ludendorff allowed us the time necessary to give effect to these remedial measures and, abandoning the British front, he on May 27 attacked the French front between Reims and the Ailette north of Soissons. This front included the famous Chemin des Dames Ridge, a part of which was held by five British divisions which had been withdrawn from the northern battles and made up with young troops. Foch had been expecting that the Germans would renew their attempt upon Amiens, but on May 27 the enemy forces effected a complete surprise. They overran the Chemin des Dames, forced their way across the Aisne, captured Soissons on May 29, and on the 31st reached the Marne between Dormans and Château-Thierry. But Foch, who on April 14 had been definitely appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies in the West, had, as well as the British Government, been taking measures to strengthen the Western Front. General Pershing had at once placed at his disposal all the American troops available, which

at the time consisted of two divisions, and these divisions had gone into the front line at Montdidier. From this place they were transferred to the new battle-front, where they arrived in the nick of time to stop the Germans from crossing the Marne at Château-Thierry. Foch had also ordered back four French divisions from Italy and had persuaded the Belgians, whose Army had been reorganised and considerably strengthened, to extend their front as far south as Ypres, thus relieving British troops and enabling him to withdraw the French reserves which he had placed north of the Somme. With these reinforcements the third great German attack of the year was brought to a standstill.

The Germans had now created two great salients on the Western Front: one, the result of the March battles, with its head at Montdidier; the other, the outcome of the attack of May 27, with its head at Château-Thierry. On the map the Allied position appeared highly critical, for in the north the enemy was almost at the gate of Ypres and at no great distance from Hazebrouck; from his lines at Villers-Bretonneux he could bring the great railway junction of Amiens under effective artillery fire; while at Château-Thierry he was within 40 miles of Paris. But the danger was passing, whilst the British Army was recovering rapidly from the effect of the battles of the spring and growing in strength as reinforcements reached it from the distant theatres of war. Above all, in response to Mr. Lloyd George's appeal to President Wilson, American troops were coming across the Atlantic, at first at the rate of 120,000 a month, and later in July at 250,000 a month. This result was made possible by the amount of British shipping placed at the service of the American Army, shipping set free because the British people cheerfully agreed to drastic reductions in the import of supplies.

It was in these circumstances that Ludendorff made his fourth attempt, which was intended to unite up the salients of Château-Thierry and Montdidier by a drive in the direction of Compiègne. The battle of Lassigny began on June 9 and ended on June 13 with the Germans well to the north of Compiègne, having gained little in return for the heavy losses they had sustained. Then Ludendorff began to prepare for his fifth and greatest effort. This took the form of a great attack in Champagne to the east of Reims, combined with another made west of Reims on the southern front of the Château-Thierry salient. This new battle started on July 15, but at this juncture the French were well informed of the enemy's intentions, and Foch was ready for him. The attack to the east of Reims failed com-

pletely before the skilful defence of General Gouraud ; that to the west of the town at first made some progress, but on July 18 the German hopes of winning the war by a final and triumphant attack were dashed by a counter-blow which Foch had prepared against the flank of their offensive between Château-Thierry and Soissons. This counter-attack was delivered by the Army of General Mangin (under whom fought two American divisions), and took the Germans completely by surprise. In his first bound forward Mangin succeeded in cutting the railway communications south of Soissons, upon which the supply of the German troops in the Château-Thierry salient in great measure depended, and they were compelled to fall back across the Marne. Then in a series of combined attacks, delivered against the southern front of the salient by six American divisions ; against the western front by Mangin, reinforced by two British divisions sent down by Haig ; and against its eastern front by Berthelot, also strengthened by two British divisions, and by two Italian divisions which had joined the armies on the Western Front some time before, the Germans were hustled out of the Marne salient and across the Vesle, the battle ending on August 4 with the French once more in possession of Soissons, and with Paris relieved of all danger.

Foch then proceeded to put into execution plans that he had for some time had in mind. He was aware that the Germans, though growing weaker, still had strong reserves, and until those reserves were further weakened he had no intention of engaging upon a great attack designed to break through the enemy's line. His purpose was rather to continue the process of exhausting German power which had been begun so successfully in the second battle of the Marne, by a series of limited blows, which should at the same time free from the enemy's grasp some of the more important railway communications.

It was with these objects that Haig attacked on the Amiens front on August 8. The British Army had taken full advantage of the respite allowed it by Ludendorff since April 30. The activities of the Ministry of Munitions had more than replaced the mass of guns and material captured or destroyed by the Germans in the battles of the spring, and the gaps caused by our heavy casualties had in great measure been made good by reinforcements. The army was now in possession of a new type of tank which was a vast improvement upon the early models. Schemes for the co-operation of artillery, infantry, tanks and aircraft had been carefully thought out and practised. On July 4 Rawlinson had carried through a brilliant little

rehearsal of the part to be played by the new weapon in co-operation with the other arms, and on that day the Australians, with the help of a regiment of the 33rd American Division, had in a perfectly executed enterprise captured Hamel, to the north-east of Villers-Bretonneux, with 1,500 prisoners. Sixty tanks took part in the attack, and their co-operation with the infantry, whose confidence in them was firmly established, was complete. On the experience thus gained the battle of Amiens was in great measure planned. It was prepared with the greatest secrecy, the Canadian Corps being brought down at the last moment to reinforce the Australians, after some of its troops had been shown to the enemy on the Ypres front. Four hundred tanks, preceded by a great rolling barrage, cleared the way for the infantry advance, and demoralised the German defence. The attack was delivered north of the Somme by the 3rd British Corps, and south of the river by the Australian and Canadian Corps, the whole under Sir Henry Rawlinson, while Debeney's French Army extended the battle to the right. In the centre the Australians and Canadians overwhelmed the German divisions, of which a number, dismayed by the tanks and the rapidity of our advance, behaved badly, and by August 12 Rawlinson's front was established before Chaulnes. We had captured 22,000 prisoners and 400 guns. August 8 has been described by Ludendorff as the black day in the history of the German Army, for he tells us that he was first convinced on that day that there was no hope for Germany of winning the war. The new tank became a terror to the German infantry, and thenceforth the Allied arms went from victory to victory.

One of the effects of the victory of Amiens was that Ludendorff decided to attempt a repetition on an even larger scale of the manœuvre which he had carried out so successfully in the spring of 1917, and to retire into the Hindenburg Line while at the same time shortening his front in Flanders, in the hope that he would be able to economise troops for the benefit of his depleted reserves. But this time the Germans had no time to make systematic preparation for retreat, for Haig divined their plan, and decided upon an extension of Foch's scheme. Finding the German resistance in front of Rawlinson hardening around Chaulnes, he on August 21 sent in Byng's 3rd Army supported by the left of the 4th Army to attack in the direction of Bapaume. On August 22 the 4th Army recaptured Albert, and on the 29th the New Zealand Division of the 3rd Army occupied Bapaume. Simultaneously the 1st and 2nd Armies in Flanders were pressing the yielding Germans. On the 19th Merville was cap-

tured, on the 30th we entered Bailleul and the next day the enemy evacuated Mount Kemmel. The German retreat had by this time extended southwards as far as the Aisne, and along the whole front of his withdrawal he was closely pressed by the Allies, who took from him many prisoners and guns. The Australians pursuing along the valley of the Somme captured Mont St. Quentin during the night of August 31 by a brilliant feat of arms. The 2nd Australian Division held this hill, which dominates Péronne, against the counter-attacks of five German divisions, and the result of this astonishing coup was that the enemy left Péronne next day. In the battle of Bapaume 23 British divisions drove 35 German divisions across the old Somme battlefield in 10 days and captured 34,000 prisoners and 270 guns.

While the battle of Bapaume was raging Haig had quietly withdrawn the Canadian Corps from the Amiens battlefield and had moved it northwards to rejoin Horne's 1st Army on the Arras front. On August 26 Horne began the battle of the Scarpe, which reached its culminating point on September 2, when the 4th British Division, the 17th Corps and two divisions of the Canadian Corps broke the Drocourt—Quéant "switch," an extension northwards of the Hindenburg system which the Germans had fortified with great elaboration after they lost the Vimy Ridge in April 1917. The battle of the Scarpe cost the Germans 16,000 prisoners and 200 guns, and made them more anxious than ever to gain the shelter of the main Hindenburg system.

In front of that system the enemy had constructed a series of advanced positions, and from these he was driven between September 12 and 19 by the 3rd and 4th Armies in the battles of Havrincourt and Epéhy, in which they captured 12,000 prisoners and 100 guns. Our armies were then in touch with the main Hindenburg system from the Scarpe to St. Quentin, but before that result had been achieved the American Army had brought to a conclusion one more of the limited attacks which Foch had planned. For, attacking the salient of St. Mihiel on September 12, they had by the evening of the 13th completely obliterated the salient, and taken from the enemy 16,000 prisoners and 443 guns.

The effect of Foch's policy of a succession of limited attacks, and of Haig's bold extension of that policy after the battle of Amiens, had been to change completely the balance of power on the Western Front. The Germans had lost enormously in men and material, both in the failure of their great attack

in July, and in the many defeats that they had suffered since. Germany could not find more men to fill the gaps in the ranks, and Ludendorff had been obliged to break up no less than twenty of his divisions to keep the remainder up to strength. While the enemy was weakening both in numbers and in *moral* the Allied troops were flushed with victory and their numbers were mounting up; whereas, in March, Pershing had only been able to offer Foch two divisions, he now had twenty-four, each double the strength of a German division, ready to go into battle.

The question which now arose was whether the time had come to deliver the decisive blow. Though there was no doubt that the Germans were yielding, there were as yet no signs of a general collapse. Their machine-gunners in particular were fighting with great gallantry, and their artillery was yet formidable, while they believed, not without justification, that their Hindenburg system was impregnable. For these reasons there were few among the Allies who thought that final victory was possible in 1918, and many who conceived that it would be more prudent to wait until 1919, when America would have her full strength in the field. Before we see how this question was answered we must again make a tour of the other theatres of war.

There had in May been an extension of the theatres of war. The Germans had landed troops in Southern Finland to assist the White Forces against the Bolsheviks, and, partly with the object of retaining their troops in Finland, and partly to obtain the means of communication with the Anti-Bolsheviks, we on May 24 landed a small expedition at Murmansk in North Russia, which was joined by detachments of French troops at the end of July. On August 1 a not very fortunate extension of this enterprise took place, again with the object of supporting the Anti-Bolsheviks, when an expeditionary force, mainly composed of British troops, attacked and captured the defences of Archangel. Simultaneously the Japanese decided to send troops to Vladivostok, and on August 3 a British detachment landed there to co-operate with them. These undertakings landed us in commitments which continued long after hostilities had ceased in other fields.

During the summer of 1918 information reached the Allies that Bulgaria was very weary of the war, and that the *moral* of the Bulgarian troops had very notably declined. It appeared probable that Bulgaria would not fight stoutly to support a falling Germany, and when the tide of fortune had set against

our chief enemy it appeared opportune to make a general attack upon the Macedonian front. This attack was made on September 15 by the Allied Forces under General Guillaumat, who had succeeded Sarrail in command. The Serbian Army, attacking with great gallantry, broke through the Bulgarian centre, and following up this success with a relentless pursuit entered Ishtip and Veles on September 25. On the front opposite the British Army, on the Allied right, the Bulgars offered a stouter resistance, and did not yield until their flanks had been turned farther to the west; but General Milne's men were able to enter Bulgaria on the same day as the Serbians took Veles, and the Bulgarian Government then asked for an armistice. This was concluded on the 29th, hostilities between Bulgaria and the Allied Powers ceasing at 12 noon on the 30th. The Germans on learning of the disaster in Macedonia had ordered four of their last remaining divisions on the Eastern Front to Bulgaria, and Marshal Mackensen hastened thither in the hope of preventing a complete collapse; but he was too late, for the Bulgarians, determined to make peace, hurried through the negotiations before he could arrive.

While the downfall of one of our enemies was culminating, an even more dramatic development brought about the collapse of another. During the summer the British troops withdrawn from Allenby had been replaced in Palestine by Indian troops, a development which was made possible by the expansion of the Indian Army which Sir Charles Monro had carried through —and, with the reorganisation of his command completed, Allenby prepared to attack the Turkish lines north of Jerusalem. On September 19, when the battle of Samaria began, Allenby, by a skilfully planned bombardment followed by a determined infantry assault, broke through the Turkish lines so successfully that on the first day of the battle he was able to pass his fine force of cavalry, which included the Australian Cavalry Corps and the Indian Cavalry Corps from France, along the coast round the enemy's right flank. On the 20th the cavalry entered Nazareth and Beisan, and swept round the enemy's rear, while the infantry drove forward through the hills of Samaria, and our Arab allies, under the Emir Faisal beyond Jordan, harassed the Turkish left. The enemy's retreat then became a rout. On the 23rd we occupied Haifa and Acre, on the 30th the pursuing cavalry captured Damascus, and the Turkish Army in Syria ceased to exist as a fighting force. But Allenby's pursuit did not even then come to an end, for, after a pause to reorganise his communications and bring up stores, he captured

Aleppo on October 26, and two days later he occupied Muslimiya, the junction of the Baghdad and Syrian railways. Simultaneously Sir William Marshall, who had succeeded to the command of Mesopotamia on the death of Maude, advanced in that theatre of war. On October 25 he defeated the Turks at Kirkuk and on the 30th the Turkish Army on the Tigris surrendered to him, so that on November 3 our troops were able to enter Mosul without opposition. Ere that had happened the Turks had sent in their plenipotentiaries to negotiate an armistice, and this was signed at Mudros on October 30.

Of Germany's allies, Turkey and Bulgaria were thus disposed of, and there remained only Austria. The position on the Italian front had undergone little change since the retreat from Caporetto had ended on the Piave, and it was on that river that the battle which completed the downfall of Austria took place. In that battle the British troops under Lord Cavan had the honour of leading the way across the river, and the Austrian resistance was broken as decisively by General Diaz as was that of the Turks by Allenby. On October 27 the Austrian Government sued for an armistice, and on November 1 revolution broke out in Vienna. The armistice between Austria-Hungary and the Allies was signed on November 3, and on the same day the Italians entered Trieste.

To return to the main theatre of war. Foch had already planned that the first series of attacks, which ended with Pershing's capture of the St. Mihiel salient, should be continued by an attack by Gouraud's Army and the American Army on either side of the Argonne forest, and that this should be followed by an offensive by the Belgian Army and by Plumer on the Ypres front. The question was whether these two attacks should be limited efforts, designed to continue the process of exhausting the enemy's reserves, or whether they should be part of a great general offensive on the Western Front. For the latter it was necessary that the British Army should assault the Hindenburg system. A failure to break through that vast system of defences would certainly have been very costly, and might have broken the high spirit of the British Army; it would quite certainly have neutralised much of the effect of the victories recently won by the Allies, and might have given Germany that encouragement which would have enabled her to recuperate her waning strength. Foch did not feel that he could take upon himself the responsibility of ordering the British Army to attack, and the British Government threw the whole responsibility of the decision upon Haig. But the British

Commander-in-Chief was confident that the moral superiority which his men had established over the enemy would be decisive, provided he struck at once; and he was in no mind to give Ludendorff the chance of recovery which the Germans had allowed him in May, June and July. He therefore decided to follow the attacks of Gouraud and the Americans immediately by a great assault upon the Hindenburg system.

The Franco-American offensive in Champagne and on the Verdun front began on September 26. On September 27 Horne and Byng began the second battle of Cambrai by attacking the German front north and south of that town. While these armies were forcing their way through the Hindenburg defences the battle of Flanders opened on September 28. In that battle the Belgian Army, under its King, reinforced by the 6th French Army, which Foch had withdrawn from the centre and sent northwards, and Plumer's 2nd Army, attacked the front between Dixmude and Messines, which the enemy had weakened in order to meet Haig's attack upon Cambrai, and in forty-eight hours had won back the whole of the Flanders ridges which in 1917 it had taken three months of fierce and bloody fighting to gain. Then on September 29 Haig, in the battle of St. Quentin, struck his decisive blow with Rawlinson's 4th Army, in which the 2nd American Corps had been incorporated, while Debeney's 1st French Army co-operated on his right against the town of St. Quentin. Rawlinson's men, after a stupendous bombardment in which more than 1,000,000 shells were fired at the enemy's lines, forced their way across the Canal du Nord, which formed the core of the enemy's defences; and in nine days of tremendous battle the 1st, 3rd and 4th British Armies broke clean through the Hindenburg system, capturing 35,000 prisoners and 280 guns. Then from October 6 to 12 those armies in the second battle of Le Cateau drove the Germans back across the battlefield on which Smith-Dorrien's men had met Kluck in August 1914, and the pursuit was not stayed until the enemy had taken refuge in a position which he had partially prepared behind the River Selle.

Haig by breaking through the Hindenburg system had compelled the Germans to make a wide withdrawal north and south of the main battlefield. On October 13 the French entered Laon, and on the 17th the 5th British Army, which had been reconstituted under Birdwood and had gone into the line between Horne's left and Plumer's right, occupied Lille without firing a shot. Haig had proved to be right, and the time had come to press the Germans everywhere and with all available

means. Therefore on October 10 Foch issued instructions directing the Belgian Army to advance on Bruges, the British Armies upon Maubeuge and Mons, and Gouraud and the American Army upon Mézières and Sedan, the purpose of this advance being to cut the enemy's main lateral line of communication, the railway connecting Brussels, Maubeuge, Mézières and Sedan, and to drive the Germans into the Ardennes forests. In pursuance of this plan our 1st, 3rd and 4th Armies began on October 17 the battle of the Selle, in which, though the enemy was strongly posted behind a river in flood, his resistance was again broken ; and by October 25 we had forced the enemy well back from the river, whilst our battle-line had reached the outskirts of Valenciennes and le Quesnoy and the southern edge of the Mormal forest.

Simultaneously King Albert, with Plumer's 2nd Army on his right, had pressed forward into Belgium, entered Bruges on October 19 and the next day cleared the whole of the Belgian coast ; while on the southern battle-front the Americans east of the Argonne, and Gouraud to the west of the forest, had forced their way through the Kriemhilde lines which formed the southern portion of the Hindenburg system. Then, while continuing his great drive northwards in order to force the enemy back over the Meuse, Foch prepared for an attack eastward on either side of Metz which should turn the line of that river. But before this latter attack had more than begun the end came, for on October 31 King Albert advanced on the north and in four days had reached the outskirts of Ghent. On November 1 the British Army attacked in the battle of the Sambre, when on the right Rawlinson broke across the Sambre Canal and occupied Landrecies, Byng seized le Quesnoy, and on November 3 the left of the 3rd Army and the right of the 1st encircled Valenciennes and captured the place. On November 1 too Gouraud and the American Army made a great bound forward beyond the Kriemhilde line. Under these combined attacks the enemy's resistance broke down, and he opened negotiations for an armistice. On November 6 Gouraud captured Rethel, and on the same day the Americans, pursuing the Germans with extraordinary energy, captured Sedan. On the 9th Maubeuge fell to the British Guards, and on November 11 just before the Armistice became effective the Canadian Corps entered Mons.

In three months of continuous fighting the German Armies in the West had been routed ; and in that three months the British Army under Haig, 59 divisions and 3 cavalry divisions, had

engaged and beaten 99 German divisions, and captured 187,000 prisoners, 2,850 guns, 29,000 machine-guns and more than 3,000 trench-mortars.

The British Empire had raised during the War 9,400,000 men ; of these Canada had furnished 629,000, Australia and New Zealand 648,000, South Africa 220,000 and India 1,160,000. On November 11 we had under arms 3,340,000 men in the various theatres of war, while the expenditure of Great Britain had amounted altogether to £9,500,000,000. So tremendous was the effort in the military sphere alone which German ambition had compelled us to make. The sacrifices we were called upon to endure were as tremendous : 648,419 soldiers of the Empire gave up their lives on the Western Front, and on that front 1,893,810 were wounded and 175,624 taken prisoners of war. On all fronts and on the seas the total of our dead amounted to just under one million. " Their name liveth for evermore."

# THE WESTERN FRONT NORTHERN HALF

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# NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE GREAT WAR

## XXIII

### GENERAL PRINCIPLES

In the British official history of the naval operations in the Great War of 1914–18 we are reminded that never, since the Dutch wars of the seventeenth century, had the British Navy been confronted with the problem of dealing with a first-class naval Power based to the northward of the Dover defile. Instead of "the easily defended English Channel, in which the old enemy had no naval base of any importance, there was the expanse of the North Sea, with its broad and stormy outlet between Scotland and Norway, and the new enemy was so placed as to have entries to it at two widely separate points,[1] which are linked together by a perfectly protected inland waterway." During the period intervening since British naval tradition had been built up on experience against enemies lying to the southward of the Dover defile, changes in the construction and motive power of war-vessels had made them increasingly dependent upon secure bases for equipment, replenishment and repair. The situation, as described by Sir John Jellicoe, who assumed command of the Grand Fleet on the outbreak of war, was that, when the British Fleet was shifted to the north, all the conveniences for the maintenance, and defence when at anchor, of that fleet were still in the Channel ports. In pre-war days it had been decided that the use of northern bases would be necessary in the event of a war with Germany, but the decision had only recently been taken, and the necessary financial provision was lacking. Without going into further detail we can take note of the fact that there was no dry dock capable of accommodating a modern capital ship between the Medway and the Clyde, passing north-about round Scotland, with the exception of one privately-owned dock in the Tyne. Scapa Flow in the Orkneys, which had been selected as the most

[1] Skagerrak and Elbe-mouth.

suitable initial station for the Grand Fleet, possessed neither repairing facilities nor defences worthy of the name, and defences were only being improvised at Cromarty. Germany, as the weaker power at sea, had, on the other hand, made elaborate provision for strongly defended and elaborately equipped naval bases both in the North Sea and in the Baltic, where the waters in the neighbourhood of Kiel also provided a secure area for manœuvres, target practice and other exercises.

Passing from the North Sea, where the main fleets upon which the whole issue depended were concentrated, to the world-situation, we notice that the navies of Germany and of Austria-Hungary were so situated as to find access to the high seas a matter of extreme difficulty, provided that their enemies possessed adequate sea forces. "The control of a maritime region," wrote Admiral Mahan, "is ensured primarily by a navy, and secondarily by positions suitably chosen and spaced from one another, upon which as bases the navy rests, and from which it can exert its strength." Taking the world-situation as a whole, the enemies of the Central Powers possessed overwhelming advantages over Germany in the ownership of such positions. The control of certain maritime regions, commonly called in popular language command of the sea, was essential to the victory of the Entente Alliance. The first condition was that their military forces should be able to cross the seas without prohibitive risk, and that they should subsequently be provided with the necessary supplies, munitions and reinforcements. The nations themselves, that provided the armies, had obviously to be provided with their essential requirements in food, raw materials and in manufactured articles. These essentials being secured, maritime control was further needed in order to prevent the movement by sea of hostile troops and, as far as might be possible, to cut off from the Central Powers the flow of munitions, food and merchandise required for the conduct of military operations.

At sea, as on land and in the air, the objects of the strategist can best be fulfilled by destroying, disintegrating or otherwise rendering innocuous the armed forces of the enemy, and it will be convenient for our purpose to consider the operations against these forces under three headings, devoting our attention first to the main fleets, then to the outlying squadrons and other surface craft, and finally to the submarines, an element in sea-warfare which, used as they were by Germany, presented a new and very formidable problem to her opponents.

## XXIV

### THE MAIN FLEETS

The German High Seas Fleet, commanded by Admiral von Ingenohl, was composed in August 1914 of twenty-three battleships, with an attached cruiser squadron under Rear-Admiral Hipper containing five battle-cruisers and six light cruisers. The British Grand Fleet under Admiral Sir John Jellicoe was composed of twenty-nine battleships with five attendant light cruisers, and a cruiser force under Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty, consisting of four battle-cruisers, eight armoured cruisers and six light cruisers. The final mobilisation orders found the German Fleet concentrated in their North Sea bases on August 1 and the bulk of the British Fleet at Scapa Flow on August 2. At daybreak on August 4 the German Army began to cross the frontier of Belgium. At 8.30 a.m. on that day the Grand Fleet put to sea. Between 7.50 and 9.30 p.m. the German auxiliary cruiser *Kronprinz Friedrich Wilhelm* and mine-layer *Königin Luise* put to sea to lay mines off the coast of England. By midnight the British Empire was at war with Germany.

The principles of British sea strategy had been embodied in the year 1902 in an Admiralty memorandum pointing out that, to any naval Power, the destruction of the fleet of the enemy must always be the great object aimed at; that it is immaterial where the great battle is fought, but wherever it may take place the result will be felt throughout the world, because the victor will afterwards be in a position to spread his forces with a view to capturing or destroying any detached forces of the enemy and to gather the fruits of victory. Sir John Jellicoe's object, explained to and approved by the Admiralty, was, if possible, to bring about a fleet action in the northern portion of the North Sea, where the Germans would be unable to make the fullest use of submarines, mines, torpedoes and aircraft, upon which, as the weaker Power, they were expected to rely. The object of German strategy, on the other hand, was to make full use of these weapons to reduce the strength of the Grand Fleet by a process of attrition until the balance was sufficiently adjusted to give some hope of success in a fleet action. It was hoped that the British would be induced to run upon the minefields and amongst the defences of Heligoland and in the Bight in an endeavour to get at the High Seas Fleet. With these points in our minds we can now summarise briefly the operations in the

North Sea by which the British Fleet secured maritime control for the Entente Alliance, with all the attendant advantages already recounted.

The Grand Fleet returned to Scapa Flow on August 7 after the first sweep of the North Sea. During the course of the month it was discovered that the Germans had laid mines in the highways of sea-traffic, a form of attack which they had themselves strongly deprecated at the Hague Conference of 1907. Up to August 9 a southern force of destroyers under Commodore Tyrwhitt, based on Harwich, and of submarines under Commodore Roger Keyes, had been under Sir John Jellicoe's command, but from that date its movements were, at his request, directed from the Admiralty. The German commerce-raider *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse* was the only vessel to slip out into the Atlantic during this period. From August 11 a cruiser squadron, under Rear-Admiral de Chair, was in position to watch the northern approaches and to relieve the Grand Fleet of this responsibility. For nearly two years Jellicoe's and Beatty's forces constantly conducted sweeps of the North Sea, and the opportunity was awaited to bring the High Seas Fleet to action. "It is with a legitimate pride," writes Sir Julian Corbett in the official history, "that we look back upon the silent endurance with which the seamen of the old era clung on to their thankless task, year after year, through storm and sickness; but no one can feel aright the part our modern Navy has played unless he remembers how they, too, had to cling on in face of dangers beyond anything that Hawke or Cornwallis had to face."

The chief incidents in home-waters of the period up to May 31, 1916, the date of the Battle of Jutland, can now be related: On August 5, 1914 the German mine-layer *Königin Luise* was sunk by the Harwich force; August 6, *Amphion* sunk by one of her mines; August 28, Battle of Heligoland Bight: British light cruisers and destroyers, supported by Admiral Beatty's battle-cruisers, sank three German cruisers (*Mainz*, *Köln* and *Ariadne*) and some destroyers; September 3, *Speedy* lost by striking a mine; September 5, *Pathfinder* (cruiser) sunk by submarine; September 13, *Hela* (cruiser) sunk by British submarine; September 22, the cruisers *Cressy*, *Aboukir* and *Hogue* torpedoed by submarine; October 7, laying of a British minefield in the Channel announced officially; October 15, *Hawke* torpedoed and sunk; October 17, *Undaunted*, with destroyers, sank four German destroyers off the Dutch coast; October 18–21, British monitors co-operated with the Belgian

Army on the Yser; October 27, battleship *Audacious* lost by striking a mine off the north coast of Ireland; October 31, *Hermes* sunk in Dover Straits; November 3, German cruisers bombard Yarmouth, and escape; November 11, *Niger* sunk by submarine; November 26, battleship *Bulwark* blew up in the Medway; December 16, Hartlepool, Whitby and Scarborough bombarded by German cruisers, which escaped; December 25, British airmen, supported by two cruisers, bombed German ships at Cuxhaven; December 27, battleships *Conqueror* and *Monarch* put out of action by collision; January 1, 1915, battleship *Formidable* torpedoed by submarine in the Channel; January 24, the Battle of Dogger Bank.

We have seen that on two previous occasions, on November 3 and December 16, 1914, German cruisers escaped after hasty bombardments of towns on the east coast of England. By January 1915 the British intelligence system had been greatly improved by the establishment of directional wireless stations and by other methods. On the 23rd a force of cruisers and destroyers under Admiral Hipper put to sea in order (according to Admiral Scheer) to reconnoitre off the Dogger Bank and there to destroy any hostile light forces met with. On this occasion the British forces in the North Sea, including the Harwich flotilla, were disposed to cut off Hipper's force. Touch was actually obtained by Admiral Beatty, but Hipper ultimately escaped after a stern chase in which he lost the armoured cruiser *Blücher*. The *Seydlitz* and *Derfflinger* also suffered heavy damage requiring extensive repairs. Owing to damage to the *Lion* Beatty was obliged to shift his flag during the action. As a result of this action no further activity was shown by German surface craft for many months.

On February 18, 1915 the policy of a submarine "blockade" was adopted by Germany. To this subject we will revert in due course. On August 23, and again in October, British monitors bombarded the German forces on the Belgian coast. On October 28 the *Argyll* was wrecked off the coast of Scotland.

In January 1916 the German commerce-raider *Möwe* escaped into the Atlantic; on the 27th the British again bombarded German military forces on the Belgian coast; on February 10 German light forces raided British mine-sweepers off the Dogger Bank; on the 11th the *Arethusa* struck a mine off the east coast; on March 4 the *Möwe* succeeded in returning to Germany; on the 11th the *Coquette*, and on the 13th the *Fauvette*, struck mines; on March 25 British seaplanes raided and bombed Sylt Island and neighbouring places on the mainland; on April 24–25

the German cruisers conducted another coastal raid on Yarmouth and Lowestoft, and succeeded in escaping, the *Seydlitz* being badly damaged by a mine on her way to take part in the operation and obliged to put back. The climax of the contest between the main forces was reached in the Battle of Jutland on May 31.

Admiral von Ingenohl had given up command of the High Seas Fleet to Admiral von Pohl early in February 1915. In January 1916 Admiral Scheer had succeeded to the command on the death of Admiral Pohl. The raid on Lowestoft and Yarmouth in April was the first indication of renewed activity of the German Fleet under its new commander. A further raid, on Sunderland, supported by the High Seas Fleet, was planned for May 18, but, the weather being unfavourable for the airships upon which Admiral Scheer relied for information to enable him to escape from superior forces, this plan was cancelled. It was then decided to embark upon " a campaign against cruisers and merchantmen outside and in the Skagerrak," and with this object in view Admiral Hipper left the Jade roadstead at 2 a.m. on May 31, followed at half an hour's interval by Admiral Scheer with the whole of the High Seas Fleet. This movement had been forestalled by the British. On the previous day the Admiralty had received news which pointed to probable activity on the part of the German Fleet, and had instructed Sir John Jellicoe at 5.40 p.m. to " concentrate to the eastward of Long Forties ready for eventualities." As a result of the dispositions made by Sir John Jellicoe on receipt of these instructions the Grand Fleet from Scapa and Cromarty and Sir David Beatty's force from Rosyth put to sea between 9 and 10 p.m. on May 30. Beatty's light cruiser screen, which was spread to the eastward, obtained touch with Hipper's force steering northwards at 2.30 p.m. on May 31, and the Battle of Jutland resulted.

The forces which took part in that battle were, on the British side, the Grand Fleet of 24 battleships with 3 battle-cruisers (Rear-Admiral Hood), 8 armoured cruisers (Rear-Admirals Sir Robert Arbuthnot and H. C. Heath), 12 light cruisers and 46 destroyers, all under the personal command of Sir John Jellicoe, and based on Scapa Flow and Cromarty, with Sir David Beatty's advanced force of 4 fast battleships (Rear-Admiral Evan Thomas), 6 battle-cruisers (Rear-Admirals Brock and Pakenham), 15 light cruisers and 31 destroyers, based on Rosyth.

On the German side was the High Seas Fleet under the personal command of Admiral Scheer, comprising 22 battleships (6 of them of pre-Dreadnought design), 6 light cruisers

and 45 destroyers, preceded by an advanced force under Vice-Admiral Hipper composed of 5 battle-cruisers, 5 light cruisers and 33 destroyers.

Of other seafaring forces available for use in the North Sea the most important was a British force under Commodore Tyrwhitt, consisting of 5 light cruisers, 2 flotilla leaders and 21 destroyers. This force was detained at Harwich by the Admiralty until early on June 1 and was too late to take any part in the action.

We left Beatty's cruiser-screen in touch with Hipper's advanced force at about 2.30 p.m. on May 31. On receipt of information from the *Galatea*, the most easterly light cruiser in the screen, Beatty steered to cut Hipper off from his base. The opposing cruiser-forces were in sight of one another at 3.25 p.m., at a range at first of about 16,000 yards. During this first phase the British battle-cruisers *Indefatigable* (4.6 p.m.) and *Queen Mary* (4.26 p.m.) were lost through magazine explosions. Fierce fires broke out in the German ships, but their magazines were better protected. During the run to the southward a force of destroyers under Commander Bingham gradually drew ahead of the British battle-cruisers and between 4.30 and 4.50 p.m. developed an attack, first upon a force of German destroyers advancing to the attack, and subsequently upon the German battle-cruisers, which turned away eight points to the eastward in consequence. At 4.38 p.m. the light cruiser *Southampton*, ahead of the British battle-cruisers, sighted the High Seas Fleet, which was in view from the *Lion* (Beatty's flagship) two minutes later. Beatty at once turned his battle-cruisers sixteen points in succession to the northward, and at 4.50 p.m., while passing Evan Thomas's battleships on the port hand, signalled to them to execute the same manœuvre. Hipper's cruiser force at about this time also altered course to the northward, keeping well ahead of the High Seas Fleet. The close of the first phase of the action (3.30 to 5 p.m.) found Admiral Beatty, with his mission of discovery accomplished, steering to the northward followed by the High Seas Fleet, which was thereby being led in the direction of the Grand Fleet—to which we can now return.

At 2 p.m. the relative positions of the respective forces had been as follows. The Grand Fleet was approaching its rendezvous, about seventy-five miles to the northward of the rendezvous allotted to Beatty's force. Hipper's battle-cruisers were then about fifty miles to the eastward of Beatty, and Scheer's fleet was about the same distance to the southward of

Hipper. On receiving the *Galatea's* messages and further reports, Sir John Jellicoe gradually worked his battleships up to a fleet speed of 20 knots, formed in line of divisions in column each of four ships and steered a course intended to place the Grand Fleet across the course of the enemy. He also despatched the three battle-cruisers under Rear-Admiral Hood to reinforce Beatty.

On account of a difference of about twelve miles in the dead-reckoning of Jellicoe's and Beatty's forces since leaving harbour the night before, Hood's battle-cruisers made a cast which took him far to the eastward of Beatty's course, and this incident had far-reaching results. Hood had discovered the error and was steering a north-westerly course to join Beatty when he was seen, at 4.50 p.m., by one of Hipper's scouting groups and mistaken for a portion of the Grand Fleet. The impression thus conveyed upon Hipper's mind, and subsequently upon Scheer's, was that British battleships were approaching the scene of action from the south-east, whereas the whole Grand Fleet was actually approaching from the north-west. The German airships, upon which Scheer had relied for warning of any such development, had seen neither Jellicoe's nor Beatty's forces, and reports from submarines which had been stationed off Scapa, Cromarty and Rosyth had failed to convey the idea that the whole Grand Fleet was likely to be encountered. In the belief that Hood's cruisers were battleships, Hipper altered course to the eastward, and the High Seas Fleet conformed.

At 6 p.m. Beatty was in touch with the starboard wing division of the Grand Fleet, which had not yet deployed. At 6.14 p.m. Jellicoe was able for the first time to estimate, from information received from Beatty and Evan Thomas, the correct position and approximate course of the German battleships. Within two minutes the Grand Fleet was deploying on the port division in a direction calculated to bring the whole fleet, in line of battle, ahead of the High Seas Fleet and across its course. Beatty cut across at high speed and took station ahead of the line. Evan Thomas, not being in a position to follow without blanketing the fire of the Grand Fleet, executed a skilful manœuvre which brought his battleships into station at the rear end of the line of battle.

The deployment of the Grand Fleet across the course of the High Seas Fleet was completed by 6.38 p.m. By 6.35 p.m. Scheer's leading battleships had veered to the south-east, driven round by the fire of the British battle-cruisers and battleships, combined with a torpedo attack by Rear-Admiral T. D.

Napier's light-cruiser squadron of Beatty's force. Scheer then ordered a special manœuvre which had been constantly practised by the Germans to escape from such a predicament, a "together turn with a bent line." By executing this special manœuvre all the ships, regardless of the course that they were steering at the time, swung round to the westward. So far, only the German battle-cruisers and the ships of the leading division (von Behncke's) of the High Seas Fleet had been visible from the Grand Fleet. At about 6.30 p.m. Hood's battle-cruisers, in action with Hipper's force, had effected a junction with Beatty. At 6.34 p.m. the *Invincible*, Hood's flagship, was lost, her magazine exploding. By this time the *Lützow*, Hipper's flagship, was burning fiercely, and he tried to move his flag to the *Seydlitz*; finding her also on fire, he ultimately succeeded in boarding the *Derfflinger*.

We left the Grand Fleet having just completed its deployment

ERRATUM

Page 206, line 14: for "4.50 p.m." read "5.50 p.m."

by the same manœuvre as before, covering his retreat this time by a dense smoke-screen emitted from his cruisers and destroyers, and by torpedo attacks from his destroyers upon the British battleships.

The British destroyers and light cruisers not having had time to take up their action station to counter such attacks, Jellicoe turned his battleships four points away, avoided the torpedoes, and then deployed the Grand Fleet in a line of battle on a south-westerly course to close the range again. At 8 p.m. he altered course (by divisions) directly to the westward to cut off the Germans, and at 8.30 p.m. he again deployed into line of battle on a south-westerly course. At about the same time Beatty's battle-cruisers, running at high speed on a south-westerly course, obtained contact again for a few minutes with the Germans, who by that time were making southward for the shelter of

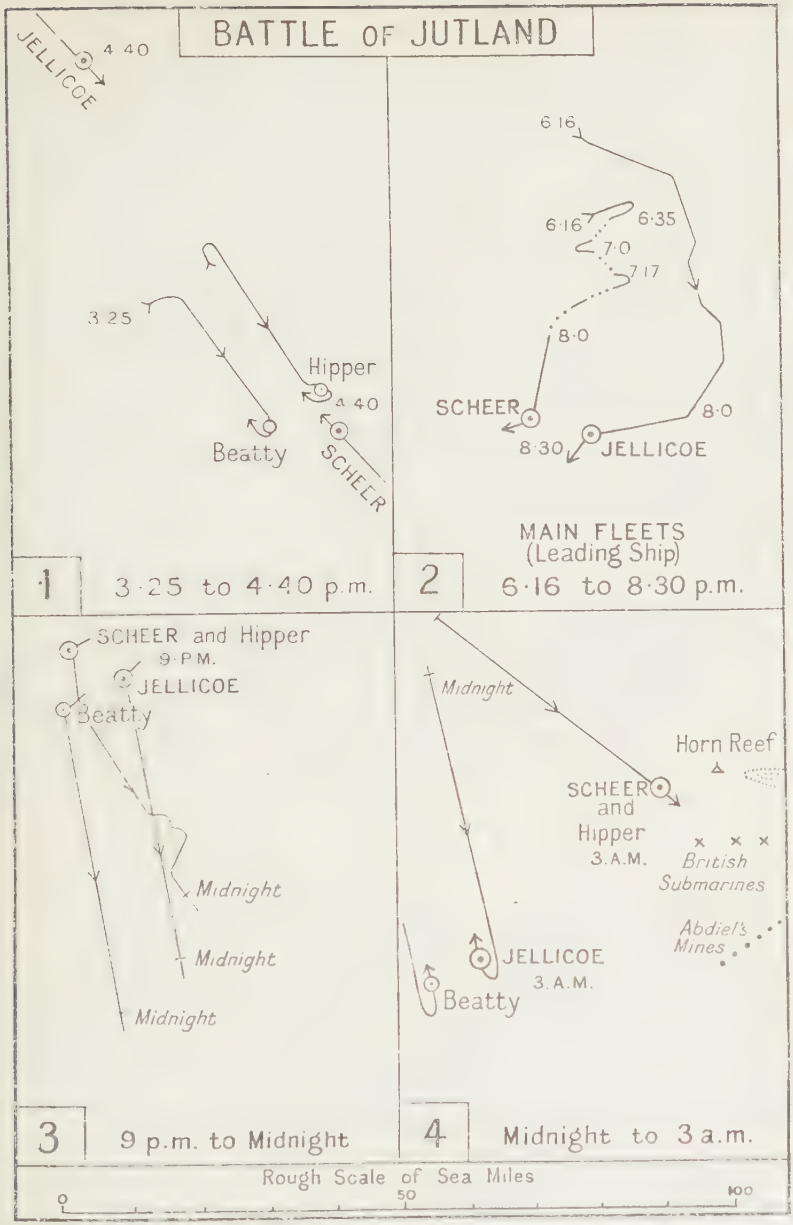
their minefields; but the enemy immediately turned westward again and was saved from further punishment by the failing light.

The situation at the close of this phase, at 9 p.m., was that Jellicoe and Beatty, unknown to Scheer, were between his force and its base. Jellicoe, confident in the hope of bringing the High Seas Fleet to action in the morning, turned to the southward at 9 p.m. and was about forty miles south-west of Horn Reef at daybreak (2.45 a.m.) on June 1. Scheer, soon after 9 p.m., altered course for Horn Reef, and he succeeded in the dark in slipping between the land and Jellicoe, who turned northward at 2.45 a.m. in the hope of renewing the action. At about 3 a.m. Jellicoe's and Beatty's positions were correctly reported to Scheer by airships. Another airship had, however, reported them to be off the north coast of Jutland. The *Lützow* sank at about 1 a.m. Scheer's battleships were constantly in contact with the British light craft during the night, notably at 1.45 a.m., when an old battleship (*Pommern*) was sunk by a British destroyer; but wireless messages which were despatched from the destroyers failed to reach the British Fleet flagship, so touch was lost. Jellicoe and Beatty continued to sweep to the west and southward of Horn Reef until after 7 a.m. on June 1, by which time Scheer was in the mine-swept channel off Sylt Island and safe from pursuit.

Thus ended the greatest sea-battle of modern times. Owing to magazine explosions the British losses were heavier than the German, but judged by its strategic results, the Battle of Jutland was an overwhelming British victory. "Maritime control" was established, and the stream of British and Allied troops and merchandise continued thenceforward to pass freely across the seas, which were denied to the transports and merchant ships of the Central Powers. The actual losses in the battle were:

*British.*—3 battle-cruisers (*Indefatigable*, *Queen Mary* and *Invincible*); 3 armoured cruisers (*Defence*, *Warrior*, *Black Prince*) and 8 destroyers. Of these the *Warrior* could probably have been saved if the battle had been fought nearer to the British bases.

*German.*—1 battleship (*Pommern*), 1 battle-cruiser (*Lützow*), 4 light cruisers (*Wiesbaden*, *Elbing*, *Rostock*, *Frauenlob*) and 5 destroyers. The *Seydlitz* (battle-cruiser) was in a sinking condition and would probably have been lost if the battle had been fought a few miles farther from the German bases. Owing to severe damage to hulls the German battle-cruisers could not fire any of their guns at the end of the action, and two of these vessels were




NOTE ON DIAGRAM NO. 2. It is not possible to show on so small a scale the manœuvres of the German Fleet after it was headed off at 6.30. The German turn to W. at about 8.30 was due to contact with Beatty

still unfit for sea two months later, by which time the serious damage done to the hulls of six of the battleships had been repaired in dry dock, and Admiral Scheer was able to report his battle-fleet again ready for sea about the middle of August. The British battleships—with the exception of *Warspite* (damaged by gunfire) and *Marlborough* (torpedoed)—and all the British battle-cruisers were ready for sea within twenty-four hours of reaching their bases.

After making short sorties in August, October and November, covered by aircraft, in the hope of meeting British forces of inferior strength, the High Seas Fleet made no further bid for the control of the North Sea, and the German energies were concentrated upon submarine warfare against commerce, to which we will revert in due course.

From June 1, 1916, in fact, the Germans definitely abandoned any intention that they might have previously entertained of encountering any portion of the Grand Fleet in action until, two and a half years later, they had suffered decisive defeat in the great land battle on the Western Front. They then formed a plan which could not be carried out because a mutiny broke out amongst the crews, whose *moral* had been thoroughly shaken by their experiences in action followed by prolonged inactivity. The High Seas Fleet finally came across the North Sea to surrender to Admiral Beatty, who succeeded to the command in November 1916 when Admiral Jellicoe went to the Admiralty as First Sea Lord.

## XXV

### THE OUTLYING SQUADRONS, ETC.

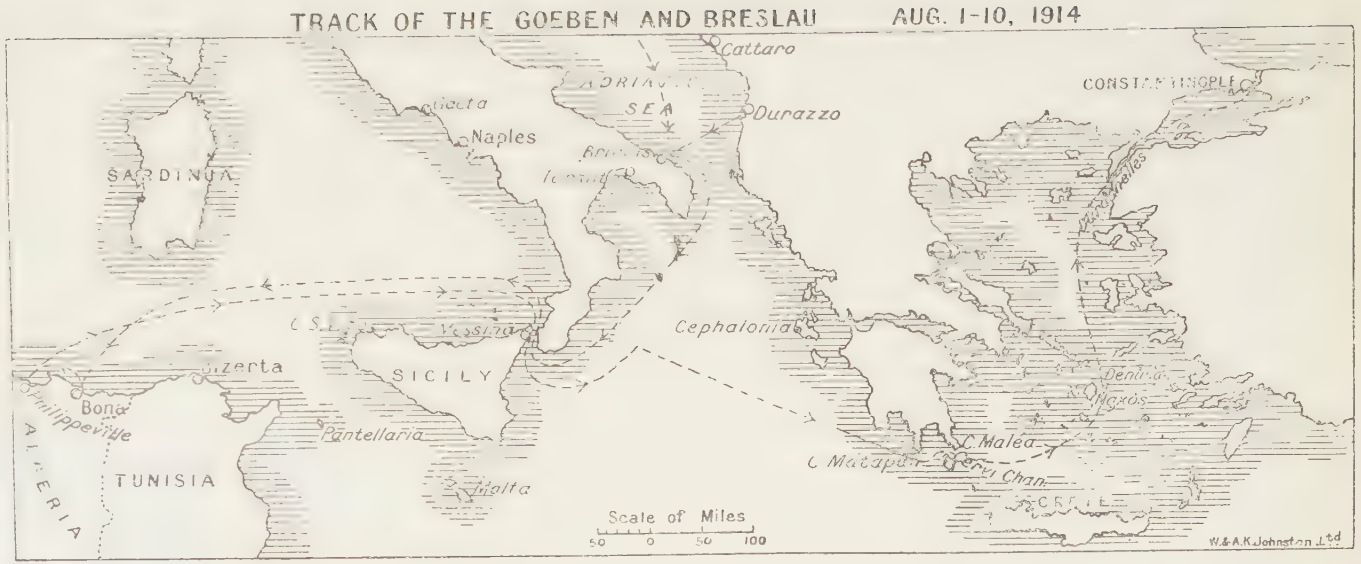
Having dealt thus briefly with the fate of the High Seas Fleet, i.e. the main issue as affecting surface-craft, there remain to be described the operations against detached surface-forces which, though less formidable in their general influence in the war, were capable, if left at large, of working great havoc amongst the merchant-shipping and troop-transports of the Entente Alliance.

Amongst these surface-craft the most important perhaps was the battle-cruiser *Goeben*, which had just completed in July 1914 a refit at Pola, and was still in the Adriatic, flying the flag of Vice-Admiral Souchon. The light cruiser *Breslau* was also close at hand, taking part in an international demonstration at

Durazzo. We take these two vessels first, and in some detail, because of the important effect which their escape ultimately produced upon the course of the war. They coaled at Brindisi on August 1. The points to be borne in mind in the subsequent operations are: that no combined plan of operations had at that time been drawn up between the British and French naval authorities, the British Admiral being therefore unaware of the disposition of the French naval forces; that the attitude of Italy was doubtful; that Great Britain was not at war with Austria-Hungary until August 12; and that the main task confronting the Entente in the Mediterranean was to secure the transfer of the XIXth French Army Corps from Algeria to France. The principal non-British naval forces to be considered were 12 French battleships, of which 11 were of pre-Dreadnought design, based on Toulon, 3 Italian battleships at Taranto, with 4 others at Gaeta near Naples, and 6 Austrian battleships in the Adriatic. The British Admiral, Sir Berkeley Milne, upon whom the task of dealing with the *Goeben* and *Breslau* fell, had at his disposal 3 battle-cruisers (*Inflexible*, *Indefatigable* and *Indomitable*), 4 armoured cruisers, 4 light cruisers and about 16 destroyers.

The movements of the *Goeben* and *Breslau* were as follows: August 3, 1 a.m., passing Messina Straits northward. 9 p.m., about thirty miles south of Sardinia. August 4 (a.m.), bombarding Bona and Philippeville; (p.m.) passing to the eastward, north of Sicily. August 5, 5 a.m., at Messina, coaling from the *General*, a German vessel. August 6, 5 p.m., left Messina, steering as if for the Adriatic; 11 p.m., altered course for Cape Matapan. August 7, rounded Cape Maléa (Greece) at about 5 p.m. August 8 (p.m.), at Dénusa Island (near Naxos), coaling again from the *General*. August 10, 5.45 a.m., left Dénusa; 5 p.m., arrived at the Dardanelles, and was allowed by the Turks to pass the Straits, with the far-reaching political and military results described elsewhere.

The British forces were disposed in the first instance to prevent the Germans moving to the westward, where the French troops were being transported. At 9.32 a.m. on August 4 the British battle-cruisers *Indomitable* and *Indefatigable* sighted the *Goeben* and *Breslau* near Bona, followed them to the eastward, and at 10.30 a.m. were joined by the light cruiser *Dublin* from off Bizerta. War had not yet been declared between Great Britain and Germany. The *Goeben* and *Breslau* were speedier than the British battle-cruisers, but the *Dublin* kept in touch up to 10 p.m., when she lost them off Cape S. Vito (N.W. Sicily). The British were unable to pass through the Straits of Messina under


TRACK OF THE GOEBEN AND BRESLAU AUG. 1-10, 1914
Cattaro
ADRIATIC SEA
Durazzo
CONSTANTINOPLE
Gaeta
Naples
SARDINIA
C.S.L.
Messina
Cephalonia
Bizerta
SICILY
Bona
Philippeville
Pantellaria
ALGERIA
TUNISIA
Malta
Denusa
Naxos
C. Malea
C. Matapan
Cerigo Chan.
CRETE
Scale of Miles
50 0 50 100
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instructions issued by the British Government respecting Italian neutrality. At 1.30 a.m. on August 5 orders to commence hostilities against Germany reached the British Admiral. At 5 p.m. he received a report that the German vessels were coaling at Messina. The *Inflexible* (flag), *Indomitable* and *Indefatigable*, with 3 light cruisers and 3 destroyers, were on that day off Pantellaria Island, disposed to intercept the *Goeben* and *Breslau* if they broke westward, while Rear-Admiral Troubridge with the armoured cruisers *Defence* (flag), *Warrior*, *Duke of Edinburgh* and *Black Prince*, were patrolling off Cephalonia watching the entrance to the Adriatic, the Austrian Fleet having been reported to be at sea. Admiral Souchon, as we have noted, left Messina at 5 p.m. on August 6. We have also noted his subsequent movements. To cut a long story short, Rear-Admiral Troubridge, on hearing from the light cruiser *Gloucester* of the German Admiral's alteration of course to the south-east at 11 p.m., turned south at midnight to intercept him, if possible, before dawn, but was too late to do so. The *Gloucester* (Captain W. A. Kelly) kept the Germans in sight until they reached the Cervi Channel at 4.40 p.m. on August 7, delaying them somewhat by attacking the *Breslau* and so forcing the *Goeben* to come to her assistance, but ultimately turned back, short of coal, by order of the Commander-in-Chief. Touch was not regained.

Sir Berkeley Milne who, as we have seen, had at first disposed his battle-cruisers to intercept the Germans if they moved westward, left Malta at about 1 a.m. on August 8, having coaled, and took up the chase to the eastward. At 2 p.m. he was checked by an order from the Admiralty to commence hostilities against Austria. This order necessitated a redistribution of his forces in accordance with explicit instructions, and the chase was abandoned until the order was cancelled at noon on August 9. At 10.55 p.m. the British Admiral passed Cape Maléa, but no definite information could be obtained about the position of the *Goeben* and *Breslau* until 10.30 a.m. on August 11, when the news was received from Malta of their arrival at the Dardanelles on the previous evening.

On more distant stations, the German vessels of greatest importance were the light cruisers *Karlsruhe* and *Dresden* in the Atlantic, *Königsberg* in the Indian Ocean, and a strong force under Admiral Count Spee in the Far East and Pacific, consisting of two fast armoured cruisers (*Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau*), and three light cruisers (*Emden*, *Leipzig* and *Nürnberg*). The *Emden*, which joined von Spee's flag from Tsing-tao on August

12 off the Ladrone Islands, subsequently passed into the Indian Ocean south of Java on August 28, cruised up the Bay of Bengal and was off the mouth of the Hooghly on September 14, Rangoon on the 18th, Madras (bombarded) on the 22nd, Point de Galle (Ceylon) on the 25th, and between Cape Comorin and the Maldive Islands between the 26th and 29th, taking a heavy toll of merchant-shipping during her cruise. She was in the neighbourhood of the Chagos Archipelago on October 3–11, passed north of the Maldive Islands, and was cruising between them and Ceylon up to the 21st. Thence she passed north of Sumatra to Penang, doubled back, passed round the west coast of Sumatra, was in the Sunda Strait between that island and Java on November 5, and on the 8th was off the Cocos Islands, south-west of Java, where she was found and disposed of by the *Sydney*, one of the vessels convoying the Australasian troops to Egypt. The *Emden's* place in v. Spee's command was subsequently taken by the *Dresden*, which escaped from the Atlantic and joined his flag in the Pacific.

Operations against the *Königsberg* in the Indian Ocean were prolonged. Her chief exploit was to sink by gunfire on September 20, 1914 the British light cruiser *Pegasus*, which was at anchor, repairing engines, in the harbour of Zanzibar. She was not located again until October 30, when she was discovered by the *Chatham* some way up the Rufiji River. A watch was kept upon her until July 11, 1915, when she was sunk by bombardment, aided by air observation, by the *Severn* and two monitors which had been sent out from the English Channel for the purpose.

The *Karlsruhe*, in the Atlantic, had a somewhat shorter but more adventurous career. On July 29 she left Havana, armed the liner *Kronprinz Wilhelm* at sea on August 6, narrowly escaping subsequent capture by the *Suffolk* (Rear-Admiral Cradock), *Bristol* and *Berwick*. She arrived at Puerto Rico with only 12 tons of coal on August 9, and obtained just enough to take her to Curaçoa, whence she operated against merchant-shipping in the Pernambuco area until November. On the 4th of that month her career was ended by an explosion which occurred in her forepart when she was about 300 miles south of Barbados. Her fate remained a mystery to her enemies, reports of her supposed whereabouts being received for several months after her sinking. Definite news of her loss did not reach the British until the middle of March 1915.

Having traced the fate of the German cruisers that operated singly, we can now pass to the main force under the command

of Vice-Admiral Count Spee. With the armoured cruisers *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* and the light cruiser *Nürnberg* he was at Ponape in the Caroline Islands on August 6. Thence he moved via the Ladrone and Marshall Islands to Christmas Island, where the *Nürnberg*, which had parted company on the voyage, rejoined his flag on September 8 after having visited the Sandwich Islands and cut the Pacific cable near Fanning Island. On September 14 he visited Samoa, by that time in occupation of New Zealand troops, and passed on to Tahiti, which he bombarded on September 22. On October 1 he was at the Marquesas Islands, moved from thence to Easter Island, where the *Dresden* (from the Atlantic) joined him on the 12th, and the *Leipzig* (from the north coast of Chile) on the 14th. On October 18 he made for the coast of Chile, where, on November 4, he encountered off Coronel Rear-Admiral Sir Christopher Cradock's squadron consisting of the cruisers *Good Hope* and *Monmouth*, the light cruiser *Glasgow*, and the *Otranto*, an armed merchant-ship. Admiral Cradock was acting upon instructions telling him "to be prepared to meet" the enemy and to "search." A telegram had subsequently been sent from the Admiralty making it clear that, with his inferior force, he was not expected to act against v. Spee without the old battleship *Canopus*. This vessel, owing to her slow speed, had been left 300 miles to the southward, and the telegram had not been received. The expressions used in the orders upon which he was acting, if taken together, could only be interpreted by a British officer in his position as an order to seek out the enemy and destroy him.[1]

The *Leipzig*, scouting ahead of Spee, had been sighted during the forenoon by the *Glasgow*, which ship rejoined Cradock by 2.30 p.m. Each admiral at that time believed that he had nothing more serious in hand than cutting off an isolated cruiser. Von Spee's smoke was first seen by the *Glasgow* at 4.20 p.m. After manœuvring for the light, which would have favoured Cradock until sunset, Spee by his superior speed avoided action until 7 p.m., by which time the sun was below the horizon. In the unequal combat which followed, the *Good Hope* was set on fire, and a heavy explosion occurred at 7.50 p.m., resulting in her loss. The *Monmouth*, on fire and unable to use her guns on account of a heavy list, escaped for the time being in the gathering darkness, but at 9.25 p.m. she was sunk by the *Nürnberg*, which was endeavouring to overtake Spee's squadron. The *Glasgow* was hit five times in the main action but without being disabled, and ultimately,

[1] Sir Julian Corbett's Official History, *Naval Operations*, vol. i, p. 344.

with the *Otranto*, withdrew to the westward, joined the *Canopus*, and reached the Falkland Islands by November 8.

When the news of Coronel reached the Admiralty immediate action was taken. Vice-Admiral Sir Doveton Sturdee, Chief of Staff at the Admiralty, was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the South Atlantic and Pacific. With the battle-cruisers *Invincible* and *Inflexible* from the Grand Fleet he left England on November 11, was joined at a rendezvous near Abrolhos Rocks on November 26 by the light cruisers *Carnarvon*, *Cornwall*, *Kent*, *Glasgow* and *Bristol*, and on December 3 off the River Plate by the armed merchant-ship *Macedonia* from Sierra Leone, and proceeded to the Falkland Islands, where he arrived on December 7, finding the *Canopus* in the harbour. The night of December 7 was spent in coaling at Port Stanley, the *Bristol* at the same time executing repairs to her engines.

Early on December 8 Count Spee's force (*Scharnhorst*, *Gneisenau*, *Dresden*, *Leipzig* and *Nürnberg*, accompanied by the transports *Baden* and *Santa Isabel*) appeared from the southward with the intention of dealing with any inferior British force that he might find. The *Canopus* at 9 a.m. opened fire upon the *Gneisenau* over the land, while Sturdee's vessels hastily prepared for sea. Spee, appearing off the mouth of the harbour at about 9.30, realised the presence of British battle-cruisers, and at once endeavoured to escape. Sturdee's vessels put to sea as soon as they were ready, the *Kent* leading, followed by the *Carnarvon*, *Glasgow*, *Inflexible*, *Invincible* and *Cornwall*. The *Bristol* and *Macedonia* remained for a time in harbour, the former completing repairs to her engines. A long chase to the south-east resulted. At about 1.25 p.m. Spee's armoured cruisers endeavoured to turn west and thence to the northward, but they were cut off by Sturdee's battle-cruisers, with the *Carnarvon* in company. At the same time the German light cruisers turned southward, chased by the *Glasgow*, *Cornwall* and *Kent*. The *Scharnhorst* was sunk by Sturdee's battle-cruisers at 4.17 p.m., and the *Gneisenau* at about 6 p.m. After the light cruisers had parted company from Spee's flag they steered divergent courses. The *Nürnberg* endeavoured to work to the eastward and was ultimately cut off and sunk at 7.37 p.m. by the *Kent*, which managed to keep up a speed of twenty-five knots by supreme efforts in stokehold and engine-room. The *Leipzig* kept more to the southward chased by the *Glasgow* and *Cornwall*, and was cut off and sunk by them at 9.23 p.m. The *Dresden* was enabled by her superior speed to escape to the south-west. (She was ultimately sunk off Juan Fernandez

Island on March 14, 1915 by the *Kent* and *Glasgow*.) As regards the German transports *Baden* and *Santa Isabel*, these did not accompany the fighting-ships, and were ultimately sunk at 7.50 and 9.30 p.m. respectively by the *Bristol* and *Macedonia*, which were despatched by Admiral Sturdee for the purpose. The *Seydlitz*, hospital-ship accompanying Spee, was warned in time and escaped to the east-south-east. Thus the activities of v. Spee's squadron, the main German force in distant seas, were brought to a conclusion. The Germans fought their ships to the end and kept their colours flying to the last. As many as possible were saved by the British, but many perished in the icy-cold waters, including Count Spee and two of his sons.

There were a few German regular war vessels of minor importance to be considered under the heading of surface-craft. The *Eber* (gunboat) from German South-West Africa armed the merchant-cruiser *Cap Trafalgar* at Trinidada, an island in the South Atlantic, on August 22, 1914, and was subsequently interned in a Brazilian port. The *Geier*, which was near Singapore at the outbreak of war, was unlocated for a long period; she disabled temporarily a British merchant-ship off the Caroline Islands in October 1914, appeared at Honolulu on November 1, and was interned there on November 8, the Japanese vessels *Asama* (cruiser) and *Hizen* (battleship) being in the neighbourhood. The *Planet* (surveying vessel) was sunk by her crew at Yap Island on October 7 on the approach of a Japanese squadron. The *Komet* (surveying vessel) was surprised on the coast of New Guinea early in October by the captured German yacht *Nusa*, and by some Australians from Rabaul, which place had by that date been captured by an Australian contingent.

Germany was generally credited before the war with the intention, in the event of hostilities with a naval Power, of arming a considerable portion of her fast merchant-ships in different parts of the world to raid the commerce of her adversary. Preparations for this form of warfare, which might have been very effective, were apparently incomplete, and the effect produced by these craft was inconsiderable. Taking a few examples of their fate, the *Kaiser Wilhelm der Grosse*, which escaped out of the North Sea in the early days of August, was sunk on the 26th of the month by the *Highflyer* at Rio de Oro on the African coast, about 300 miles south of the Canary Islands. The *Cap Trafalgar*, already mentioned, was sunk in a spirited action with the British merchant-cruiser *Carmania*, which caught her engaged in coaling off Trinidada Island on September 14, 1914. The *Prinz Eitel Friedrich*, at Tsing-tao on the outbreak

of war, drew her armament there from the gunboats *Luchs* and *Tiger*. After joining Admiral Spee's flag she was detached with the *Cormoran* (also from Tsing-tao) to raid merchant-shipping in Australian waters from August 29. After spending some time in the Pacific and off the coasts of America she ultimately avoided the network of British cruisers and in March 1915 took refuge at Newport News, and was there interned. The *Cormoran* was obliged by shortage of provisions to seek neutral waters at the Island of Guam, where she also was interned on December 14, 1914. The *Kronprinz Wilhelm*, which left New York just before the outbreak of war and was armed by the *Karlsruhe*, operated in the Atlantic and was finally interned at Newport News on April 11, 1915.

The captures by these and other vessels have not been dealt with in detail. Better perspective is maintained by quoting the general results of raids on commerce by surface-craft. These are well summarised in the Official British History: "So (in April 1915) ended the first phase of the German attack upon our seaborne trade. Never in the long history of our wars had the seas been so quickly and so effectively cleared of commerce-destroyers, and, in comparison with what had been anticipated, the whole campaign had been singularly ineffective. During the first eight months of the war the loss to British commerce in all seas was estimated at £6,691,000, and in that period the value of imports and exports to and from the United Kingdom alone amounted to £776,500,000." Allowing for the value of tonnage this means a loss of only about two-thirds of one per cent. of the total vessels and cargoes risked at sea, and to this we may add the striking fact that by the same date a million soldiers of the British Empire had accomplished sea-voyages across the wide oceans and narrow seas without any loss from enemy action. Compared with the effect of the submarine raids it is difficult to realise now the anxiety caused by the unlocated surface-craft, or the difficulty in rounding them up. It would be impossible in a short history to give full details of this process, which has well been described as the spreading and drawing of a cruiser-net.

Another successful raider, the *Möwe*, broke out of the North Sea early in 1916 disguised as a Swedish tramp, and returned on March 3, having sunk fifteen British merchant-ships and taken various booty and prisoners. Another raider, the *Greif*, was caught on the last day of February of this same year by the *Alcantara* (armed merchant-ship), sank her, and was then herself sunk by a destroyer. The *Möwe* tried another and less

effective voyage about a year later, but, as we have noted, the risk from commerce-raiders on the surface ceased to all intents and purposes in April 1915. By that date, when nearly all the commerce-raiders had been dealt with, a new form of attack had been begun for which there was no precedent, and against which the Entente Allies had made no adequate preparations.

### *The Dardanelles*

The part which the Navy took in the Dardanelles campaign requires perhaps a separate heading, for the operations were neither against any enemy's fleet nor his outlying squadrons, nor against any purely naval objective. The later stages were concerned with army operations, but in the earlier ones the Navy, unaided by troops, was given a special objective, Constantinople, as the result of a decision by the War Council in January 1915 that the Admiralty should " prepare to bombard and take the Gallipoli peninsula with Constantinople as the objective." This task proved to be beyond the powers of purely naval forces, and after various enquiries and controversies the reason why it was ever supposed to come within their scope still remains obscure.

In order to penetrate the Dardanelles the vessels would have had to make their way through minefields, against a rapid current, through narrow channels under the close fire of formidable forts, exposed to torpedo attack both from the shore and from hidden torpedo-craft, as well as to plunging fire from concealed and mobile howitzers. Even had they succeeded in running the gauntlet it is difficult to see how their unarmed fuel- and store-ships—let alone troopships—could have followed them to Constantinople.

The Asiatic forts at the entrance were bombarded in November 1914, and in February 1915 the preliminary attempt was made by twelve capital ships, including four French ones. By March 4 the reduction of the defences at the entrance had been effected, but the final attack (March 18–24) by sixteen capital ships was unsuccessful (*v.* p. 142). The subsequent military expedition has been fully dealt with (*v.* pp. 143, 149–151), and it only remains to call attention to the gallant naval participation, with heavy losses, in the landing operations of the force, to their success in supplying the troops on shore and to the wonderful skill with which the troops were embarked at the close of the campaign on December 8, 1915 and January 8, 1916.

## XXVI

### THE SUBMARINE WAR

It may truly be said that there were two wars, of different natures, waged at sea in 1914–18. We have dealt with the main features of the first, conducted on the surface. There remains the war waged with weapons below the surface, submarines, and mines laid in the highways of traffic. So much depended upon the Entente mercantile marine, ranging from the available strength of their armies to the economic factors enabling the several nations to carry on the war, that the Germans, when their original military plan miscarried, decided to make ruthless use of their submarines against merchant-shipping. This U-boat warfare may be divided into two phases, the first conceived in December 1914 and put into operation in February 1915, the second, and most severe, stage beginning about two years later and resulting in bringing America into the war.

On February 4, 1915 the sea surrounding the British Isles was pronounced from Berlin to be a war area ; and it was notified that every merchant-vessel found therein would be destroyed "without its always being possible to warn the crews or passengers of the danger impending." This method of using the new weapon was in conflict with previously accepted conventions affecting the safety of the lives of non-combatant merchant seamen, and neutrals were placed in the same danger as belligerents. Sinkings without warning began on March 9, 1915. A climax was reached on May 7 when the great liner *Lusitania* was sunk off the Irish coast with the loss of 1,134 out of 1,906 souls on board. About 700,000 tons gross of shipping were sunk by the end of the year. The sinking of the *Lusitania* without warning and other similar incidents led to increasing pressure being put by neutrals, and especially by the United States, upon Germany with the object of inducing her to abandon such methods. On March 16, 1916 the French passenger steamer *Sussex*, carrying 270 women and children, with several American passengers on board, was torpedoed without warning, loss of life and injury to the passengers resulting. The political authorities in Germany were divided thenceforth from the naval and military ones on the question of policy, the former wishing to conciliate America, whilst the latter believed that the ruthless use of the submarine would win the war before American intervention could become effective. After the battle of Jutland on May 31 had proved the hopelessness of

successful action by the main fleet, the naval and military view gradually gained force until, at the end of January 1917, Germany announced her definite intention of sinking all vessels met with in proclaimed areas, and carried out that intention, hospital-ships, bearing all the prescribed marks, being included amongst her victims. By April Germany had added the United States to her enemies, and the American Fleet was, although somewhat tardily, despatched to Europe, under the command of Admiral Sims. Here, hand in hand with their comrades of the British Navy, the U.S. bluejackets acted with much vigour in patrol, convoy and mining work, and eventually contributed largely towards putting a stop to the pestiferous doings of the submarines.

The quarterly losses of British merchant-shipping from the action of submarines reached their maximum total of 1,361,870 tons gross during the second quarter of 1917: the total losses including foreign shipping for the same period amounting to the huge total of 2,236,934 tons. Had losses continued on this scale an Allied victory would have been impossible, for replacement could not have kept pace with destruction.

Submarines, possessing the power of evading observation, are of course far more difficult to locate than any form of surface-craft. Excepting for large troop-convoys, the practice for the first three years of the war was for merchant-ships to proceed singly on their voyages, using prescribed routes. The convoy system, considered in February 1917, but postponed because of the difficulty anticipated by the masters of vessels in keeping station, and by shortage of escorting vessels, was ultimately adopted for the North Atlantic homeward trade in May of that year, and was subsequently extended as experience was gained and escorts became available. The convoy system when in full working order was the most effective counter to the submarine menace, for it had the advantage of compelling the submarines to run the gauntlet of the anti-submarine craft before they could reach their objective. Apart from the convoys, the measures taken to destroy hostile submarines may be divided into offensive and defensive ones, the former consisting of hunting for and destroying the submarines, the latter of laying minefields to intercept them, and of arming merchant-ships and training their crews to defend themselves when attacked.

Lord Jellicoe, who was First Sea Lord during the period when the menace to merchant-shipping from submarine attack was most serious, puts in the following order of success the methods

by which German submarines were sunk: (1) Depth-charges, which were exploded under water near the spots where submarines were located. (2) Mines, of which large numbers were laid, including a great barrage laid between the Orkneys and Norway. (In the summer and autumn of 1918 the Americans contributed 56,571 mines and the British 13,546 to this great minefield.) (3) Various patrolling craft, of which no less than 3,000 were employed at one time by the Admiralty. (4) Submarines, which were very successful in stalking their quarry. (5) Decoy-ships, which were tramp steamers with a strong concealed armament and a naval crew disguised as merchant seamen. (6) Nets, of which large numbers were laid in narrow seas, the English Channel, for instance, being made difficult of access by the Dover barrage and other obstructions. (7) Air attack. (8) Ramming by war vessels. (9) Gunfire from merchant-ships.

Listening apparatus and other methods were devised for locating the positions of submarines when submerged, and aided materially in their destruction. According to the latest German reports the total number of U-boats sunk, interned and captured was 199, the loss of life in the crews reaching nearly 5,400.

By the end of the war about 12,000,000 tons gross of the world's merchant-shipping[1] had been sunk by the German submarines, the value of the shipping, apart from cargoes, amounting to about £220,000,000. Over 20,000 non-combatants, men, women and children, lost their lives. The U-boat's first object in view was to destroy as much shipping as possible, regardless of what any individual ship carried. Another object was to strike terror into the hearts of merchant seamen, so that even if ships were available the crews would refuse to go to sea in them; and here the degree of ruthlessness depended much upon the individuality of the several U-boat commanders. There are cases on record against some of them of incidents such as taking the crew of a merchant-steamer out of the boats to which they had resorted, putting them on the submarine's deck and then diving, leaving the unfortunate men to drown. There were also cases of submarines firing upon the heavily laden boats, and even of ramming the boats so as to drown the crews, leaving no record of their fate. The object of such procedure was not attained. Men who had escaped in open boats after their vessels had been sunk hundreds of miles from land repeatedly joined other vessels, and by the end of the war practically the whole of the British Mercantile Marine had

[1] Including nearly 8,000,000 tons British.

become a combatant service, armed and trained for defence against the menace.

And here only a brief reference can be made to the brilliant naval raid on the German submarine bases at Zeebrugge and Ostend on April 22–23, 1918, carried out by means of auxiliary vessels and obsolete cruisers, some of which, filled with concrete, were used as blockships, and in accordance with orders were blown up and abandoned by their crews. Two were sunk at the entrance to the Canal at Zeebrugge, whilst storming parties with the greatest gallantry landed from the *Vindictive* on the Mole, which was much damaged by the blowing up of a submarine laden with explosives. At Ostend two blockships were run ashore and blown up; and eighteen days later, to complete the damage, the *Vindictive* was taken into Ostend under a heavy fire and in circumstances of the greatest danger sunk almost completely across the entrance. The result of these operations was greatly to impede the action of the German submarines.

The decline in the losses of British shipping due to the protective measures already described began in the second quarter of 1917. During the corresponding quarter of 1918 the world's output of new tonnage overtook the world's losses, and during the closing months of the war the same applied to British shipping. At the beginning of 1915 the number of U-boats available for use against commerce was only twenty-four, which only sufficed to occupy permanently three or four stations on the routes of British commerce. During the unrestricted campaign of 1917 as much tonnage was sunk in six weeks as was sunk in the whole year 1915. By the end of the war Germany had employed about 375 U-boats, of which she lost 199.

### *The Mine-laying War*

During the evening of August 4, 1914 the steamer *Königin Luise*, fitted as a mine-layer, left Borkum, and next morning laid a minefield between 3° E. longitude and the coast of Suffolk, right in the fairway of traffic, "regardless of neutrals and of all the time-honoured customs of the sea."[1] Thus was inaugurated a new form of sea-warfare particularly deadly to combatants to whom security of sea-traffic was a vital condition of success. At noon on August 5 the *Königin Luise* was sunk by the cruiser *Amphion*, which vessel was lost on one of the German mines on her way back to harbour early the next morning. From that time forward mine-laying and mine-

[1] British Official History, *Naval Operations*, vol. i, p. 39.

sweeping were constantly developed by both sides. Article 3 of the Hague Convention provided that "When anchored automatic-contact-mines are employed, every possible precaution must be taken for the security of peaceful navigation." Following this principle the British Admiralty issued an official description of the danger-area covered by the first British minefield which was subsequently laid just north of a line from the middle of the Goodwins to just north of Ostend.

On October 27 the British battleship *Audacious*, steaming with the second battle squadron off the north of Ireland, struck a mine about twenty miles N.¼E. of Tory Island. The Admiralty policy was thereafter somewhat modified. An announcement was made that German mines had been laid in the open sea on the main trade-route from America to Liverpool. The whole North Sea was on November 2 declared to be a military area, and arrangements were made, without proclaiming the exact locality of British-laid mines, to conduct neutral shipping to and from Norway, the Baltic, Denmark and Holland without risk from these minefields. The policy of mining was developed subsequently in the Heligoland Bight, off the Dardanelles and in other localities.

At the outbreak of war only seven torpedo-gunboats, and fourteen trawlers manned by fishermen of a recently established "Trawler Reserve," were available for mine-sweeping. By the end of 1914 about 150 vessels of various descriptions were available for mine-sweeping duties, which number was increased by the close of the war to about 860, of which 700 were employed in the North Sea, English Channel and approaches to the United Kingdom and surrounding waters. In 1916 an average of nearly 180 mines per month was swept up by British craft, and an average of over 600 was reached in April 1917. The total number swept up during the war considerably exceeded 10,000, the number of the personnel employed for the purpose being not far short of 20,000.

Mine-laying by German submarines was a particularly difficult problem to deal with from early in 1917,[1] but the figures of mines swept up decreased rapidly from September 1917, dropping from 418 in that month to 188 in the following December. This may largely be attributed to the fact that anti-submarine measures were becoming effective. Between 1916 and the close of the war intermittent mine-laying by enemy surface-raiders or submarines continued in practically all the seas.

[1] The *Hampshire*, carrying Lord Kitchener, was sunk by a mine laid off the Orkneys by a German submarine on May 29, 1916.

Besides the losses of men-of-war, to which reference has previously been made under the heading of surface-craft, merchant-ships were constantly lost or damaged by striking mines laid in the highways of traffic, ninety of them during the first half of 1917. The losses both of war-vessels and of merchant-ships from the moored mines were considerably reduced by the use of " paravanes " and " otters," i.e. apparatus towed from the bows and capable of deflecting the mines and of cutting the moorings.

The work of mine-sweeping was most hazardous. On an average ten mine-sweeping vessels per month were sunk or damaged by mines in the first six months of 1917, the period of maximum loss, after which the losses gradually declined. It may indeed be said that it was owing to the perpetual and little-advertised heroism displayed by the personnel of the mine-sweepers under strenuous and monotonous conditions that the German policy of laying mines in the high seas ultimately failed in its purpose.

### *Summary*

The foregoing data respecting the part taken by the British Navy and Merchant Service in the main events of the sea-war suffice to indicate broad features of the great struggle for sea command. On the one side were belligerents whose interest it was to interrupt all sea-traffic, on the other belligerents to whom such sea-traffic was vital for the sake of troop movements, for the supply and equipment of armies and for the economic needs of the civil population. The Germans employed without scruple every modern resource in the shape of surface-vessels, submarines, aircraft and submarine mines in order to make the risks of sea-transport prohibitive; whilst the Allies made it their object to devise counter-measures to sink, damage, blockade or otherwise render ineffective all hostile war-vessels of any description. Within about four months of the outbreak of war all serious risk from the depredations of surface-craft in distant seas had been averted, whilst the main danger from the German High Seas Fleet was minimised by the issue of the battle of Jutland on May 31, 1916. The greatest risk of all, however, namely that from submarines and from submarine mines, continued until the conclusion of the war, and indeed at one period the prospects of victory for the Allied and Associated Powers were in consequence seriously jeopardised.

# AIR OPERATIONS IN THE GREAT WAR

## XXVII

### THE DOINGS OF THE BRITISH AIR SERVICES

A FEW days before the anniversary of the Birth of Christ, in the year 1903, with a handful of shivering spectators as the sole witnesses of a new era, the Wright Brothers made the first free flight in a power-driven machine. A decade later the world was on the eve of a war in which aircraft was to play a decisive part. Years of thought, of experiment and striving, went to the building of the frail tentative machine of the Wrights. Fifteen years after they made their first flight, Great Britain alone was producing some three thousand complete aeroplanes a month.

The coming of the aeroplane, with its vast possibilities, created no panic in the minds of those entrusted with the questions of the defence of the Empire. Some there were who spoke of the new achievement as revolutionising the art of warfare, but that claim had been advanced on behalf of many new weapons by people who ignore history. In this country before the war we waited upon events, following rather than hastening the development of flying, and when the war broke out in August 1914 Great Britain possessed a small and well-organised, but not too well-equipped, Air Service, unfitted for war on a large scale.

The Army had experimented with balloons so far back as 1878, and balloons saw service in Bechuanaland, in the Sudan and later in the South African War. The Balloon School was superseded by the Air Battalion of the Royal Engineers, formed in 1911, consisting of a Headquarters and one Airship and one Aeroplane Company. In the same year that the Air Battalion was formed, the Navy, who had turned their attention to aviation in 1908, completed the ill-fated *Mayfly*, which never flew.

Progress at this time was moving swiftly in other countries, and the Government, taking up the question in earnest, formed on May 13, 1912 the Royal Flying Corps, which was to comprise Naval and Military Wings. The intention under this scheme was that pilots of either branch should be a reserve for the other Service. The establishment for the Military Wing was to include seven aeroplane squadrons, each providing twelve aeroplanes, and one airship-and-kite squadron, providing two airships and two flights of kites. Late in 1913 the Admiralty, who had formed a special Air Department in November 1912, took over all airships and airship equipment from the Army.

From the date of the formation of the new National Air Service to the outbreak of war was little more than two short years. The wonder is, considering everything, that so much was done towards preparing the Air Services for their great test.

There went overseas with the British Expeditionary Force in August 1914 the Headquarters, an Aircraft Park and four squadrons of the Royal Flying Corps under the command of Sir David Henderson, numbering altogether something under a thousand persons. This left little equipment and few officers in England, for in order to make the squadron up to strength for overseas almost all the available machines and pilots were taken. The Royal Naval Air Service—as the Naval Wing of the Royal Flying Corps had now become known—in addition to providing coastal patrols, sent a unit to Ostend under Commander Samson. This unit later settled at Dunkirk and was the origin of the famous station from which the German bases in Belgium were so brilliantly harassed from the air.

The Western Front was the vital front of the war, and the development of the Royal Flying Corps (or Military Wing) was largely governed by the lessons learned in France. The primary use of aircraft was reconnaissance, and during the retreat from Mons, when the value of reconnaissance was probably greater than at any other time during the war, the machines of the Royal Flying Corps were able to bring in information which did not a little to aid the Expeditionary Force in escaping the repeated enveloping efforts of v. Kluck's 1st Army. The machines of those days were unarmed, or rather the pilot or observer only carried a revolver or carbine; but the question of fighting in the air was relatively unimportant. It soon became obvious however that aeroplanes were not to be allowed to fly without interference. Information would have to be fought for, and before the war was six months old machine-

guns were being fitted to aeroplanes, and the question of designing aircraft especially for fighting purposes was well in hand. Specialisation had begun.

Experiments in photography, wireless telegraphy, bombing and so forth had been made before the war, but it required the war to quicken and develop these activities. The advantages of aerial photographs and the importance of aerial observation for artillery fire became apparent so soon as the Armies took up entrenched positions. The consequence was that on the Aisne, in September 1914, a beginning was made in both these uses of aircraft.

Bombs were dropped from aircraft as opportunity offered in the early days, but it was soon seen that for effective bombing specially-built machines capable of carrying heavy loads would be required. Until, however, all the vital needs of the Army for artillery observation, reconnaissance and fighting were met, the question of extensive bombing was something of a luxury. That is partly why this was not undertaken until late in the war, when there were enough aircraft available to go round and leave a surplus.

The earliest big test of the Royal Flying Corps was the battle of the Somme, 1916, and it came through it brilliantly. The number of squadrons in France had increased to twenty-eight, and other squadrons were arriving from England at frequent intervals: in fact, by the end of the year a further ten had arrived. In addition, there had been a large increase in the number of Aircraft Parks and Depots, and Kite Balloon Sections, at first administered by the Navy, were now included in the Royal Flying Corps Organisation. The expansion of the Flying Corps had kept pace with the expansion of the Army, and its organisation had been remoulded to cope with the increased work. At the end of 1916 the squadrons were evenly divided as between fighting and reconnaissance work, but aerial fighting was so intense at the Somme that twenty extra fighting squadrons were asked for by Sir Douglas Haig. During the battle the Royal Flying Corps developed contact patrols with attacking infantry—a form of co-operation which made enormous strides in technique and value from thence onwards. In this battle, too, they co-operated for the first time with tanks in action.

At the Somme in 1916 the Royal Flying Corps achieved a degree of aerial supremacy which they never afterwards surpassed. So discredited was the German Air Service in the eyes of its own infantry that "their irritation found expression,"

says one German pilot, " in remarks such as, ' May God punish England, our artillery and our Air Force ! ' or a question passed loudly from man to man, ' Has anybody here seen a German airman ? ' " The German Higher Command was alarmed, and the Air Service was thoroughly reorganised under General v. Hoeppner. Although we foresaw the efforts which the enemy would make to dispute our supremacy, and although we prepared for it by the provision of many extra fighting-squadrons, the year 1917 was a year of bitter aerial struggles in which the Flying Corps was hard put to it to hold its own.

The Royal Flying Corps expanded on definite well-thought-out lines. The future demands for the Western Front were estimated at Flying Corps Headquarters, and programmes were framed which had to look some eighteen months or two years ahead. At the time of the Armistice there were 99 Royal Air Force squadrons on the Western Front, and the programme for the development contemplated no less than 113 squadrons for France and Italy (of which only 21 were to be Corps Squadrons pure and simple) ; 66 squadrons for long-distance bombing operations against Germany ; 40 squadrons for other theatres of war ; and a further 21 squadrons " for unseen eventualities." This programme was to be completed in the summer of 1919. The establishment of the fighting-squadrons had meanwhile increased to 24 machines.

The Royal Naval Air Service throughout the war undertook a diversity of business. When the Royal Flying Corps was hard pressed they helped by sending fighting-squadrons. They carried out some of the earliest of the long-distance raids on to Cuxhaven, Düsseldorf and Friedrichshafen in 1914. They continued throughout the war to make long-distance raids into enemy territory until this was taken over by the Independent Air Force. They patrolled the coasts watching for enemy shipping and aircraft, and they flew many millions of miles on the tedious work of anti-submarine patrol. Exactly how much they contributed to the holding of the submarine menace it is difficult to say. By direct bombing they destroyed some ; others were destroyed through their co-operation. But their main task was to impose many limitations on the submarine, and probably the best tribute to the fear in which the submarine commander held them lies in the fact that during 1917, when the submarine campaign was intense, not a single ship was attacked whilst under escort of Naval aircraft. The work was not only tedious but hazardous. There are many stories of machines which came down on to the open sea and either were

never heard of again, or else the crew were buffeted by the winter seas for hours before help arrived.

For the work of patrol and reconnaissance the Royal Naval Air Service developed the airship. The disaster to the *Mayfly* had been a set-back, but the Navy had taken up the question again in 1913, and on the outbreak of war was in possession of seven airships, of which, however, three only were used to any extent in the war. The chief triumph in this direction, however, was the success of the S.S. (Submarine Scout) type of airship.[1] The first of these was made by attaching a B.E. aeroplane fuselage to one of the small non-rigids owned by the Navy—the Willows. Improved types—the Zero and others—were designed in 1916, and many of these did valuable work throughout the remainder of the war. Other improved types were the C or Coastal type and the N.S. or North Sea type. The development of large rigids did not come until towards the end of the war. By the Armistice the airships with the Navy had increased to 103, of which five only were rigids.

Home Defence against enemy air-raids was shared between the Royal Flying Corps and the Royal Naval Air Service. Until a month after the war began the sole responsibility for dealing with raids over England lay with the War Office. But the requirements of the Flying Corps in France left little at home to carry this out, and the Admiralty were accordingly asked by Lord Kitchener in September 1914 to undertake the aerial defence of this country. Later on, however, by arrangement between the two Services, the Army took on responsibilities for Home Defence, and in February 1916 it was agreed that the Navy should undertake to deal with all hostile aircraft attempting to reach these shores, whilst the Army were responsible so soon as they reached this country.

The organisation for home defence developed rapidly after this. The first airship raid on London took place in May 1915. In the following year the number of airship raids over England increased, but the defence measures began to prove their worth, and no less than six enemy airships were destroyed over England. From now onwards the defence arrangements quickly overtook the improvements in the numbers and types of the enemy aircraft. The balloon "apron" of steel cables and a system of night patrols made London more and more difficult of attack, and defensive measures in other parts of the country were also improving rapidly. When the great airship attack was made on England by twelve airships in October 1917,

[1] Popularly known as the "Blimp."

the anti-aircraft defences kept the raiders at a great height. At the height at which the airships flew a storm was encountered, and few ever got home again. Some, hopelessly lost, were destroyed in France, others in the Mediterranean and the Alps. Raiding enemy aeroplanes fared little better than the airships. Of the hundreds of bombs that were dropped, few hit objectives of importance, and even then did little damage.[1] We suffered many casualties to night-flying personnel, but before the end of the war the enemy had realised that the defence measures of this country were such that the raids would have to be heavily paid for and were hardly worth while undertaking.

The co-ordination of supplies and so forth between the two Air Services was arranged at frequent conferences between representatives from the Admiralty and the War Office. In 1916, however, something more than this became necessary, and a co-ordination committee was formed under Lord Derby in February 1916. The Committee lasted a bare two months; it lacked executive powers. It was followed by the Air Board under Lord Curzon, which, although it had much wider powers, still could not enforce its views. It could only suggest and advise, but it was a distinct step towards a separate Ministry, for its President was a Cabinet Minister who was also a Member of the War Committee. The Air Board did much useful work, particularly with regard to questions of supply, design and personnel. In 1917 it was apparent that there would in the following year be a surplus of aircraft after the demands of Sir Douglas Haig and of the Navy had been met. The question of a separate Ministry for Air and of a separate Service had always been kept in mind. Towards the end of 1917 a Bill was passed through Parliament sanctioning the formation of the new Air Ministry, and on April 1, 1918 the Royal Air Force came into being.

The air flows over the land and the sea. It has its own temper and its own problems. Its temper binds with a common bond all those who fly. Its problems must ultimately be the study of a single Staff.

The Royal Air Force inherited a splendid tradition. It was born in time to create a tradition of its own. The part it played in the final months of the war earned fame for it in many parts of the world. In Palestine, apart from other brilliant work, it caught the retreating Turkish Army on the road to the

[1] But altogether 1,415 individuals were killed (of whom 296 were sailors and soldiers), besides over 3,400 injured. Fifty per cent. of these casualties occurred in 1917.

Jordan. This road is bordered by steep ravines. From eight in the morning until noon machines appeared over the enemy column at regular intervals of three minutes, bombing and machine-gunning. The terrible havoc was made worse by the panic which turned the Turkish Seventh Army into a rabble. When the British Infantry arrived it was only a question of collecting prisoners and material. In Macedonia the retreating Bulgar Armies were caught in the same way in the Kosturino and Kresna Passes, which were blocked by continuous bombing. In France and Italy and other theatres destruction from the air was not so decisive nor so spectacular, but the enemy learned to dread the threat from overhead.

It is hard to reduce the work done by the Air Service in the war to cold statistics. They destroyed 8,000 enemy aeroplanes and nearly 300 balloons; they dropped on to enemy targets over 8,000 tons of bombs, and fired on to ground targets over 12 million rounds of ammunition; in France alone in 1918 they lost some 5,000 officers, and little short of half that number at home, where training was intense. At the Armistice there were no less than 30,000 pupils under instruction in England, whilst the total strength of the Force approached ten times that number.

The Royal Air Force was tested over almost every type of country. Over the swamps, deserts and untrodden forests of Africa; over the mountains of the Balkans and the Alps of Northern Italy; along the Indian passes and the deserts of Mesopotamia. The aircraft working with the Navy helped to contain the German Fleet and searched the High Seas for the occasional raiders which escaped to attack Allied shipping. The records of their work are full of the stuff of romance. Perhaps the most significant of the fighting since the Armistice has been the campaign against the Mad Mullah of Somaliland. The Mullah, who for many years had given constant trouble and withstood many punitive expeditions, succumbed at last to attack from the air. The Royal Air Force here acted as a primary fighting force and organised the expedition. It is also acting in a primary rôle in Mesopotamia.

The work itself, which influenced the fighting in every corner of the world, grew from a modest beginning until it became of the first importance to the Commander in the Field. We sometimes vaunt the power of other nations to organise, and belittle our own; we like to point out the disadvantages of our system of education; but no one who studies the history of the Air Force in the war can fail to see that when the hour comes we

can organise with no little success, and that the war in the air, also, was won on the playing-fields of our great schools.

A highly technical service is most expensive to maintain on any large scale in times of peace, and so the peace establishment of the Royal Air Force can only be represented by a species of framework.

Since 1920 fighting has quietened somewhat, and time has been found to strengthen the organisation on which the future of the Royal Air Force will depend. The Cadet College at Cranwell has already passed officers into the Service; the training of personnel goes on quietly but efficiently; experimental work is well organised; shortly an Air Force Staff College will be opened. The aim of the Air Force, as expressed in its motto, is indeed the aim of mankind. In achieving its own the Royal Air Force cannot fail to help towards the peace of the world. The great guarantee of peace lies in the power to ensure that right shall triumph; and that power is likely in the future, according to the views of many, to be based on the air.

# GREAT BRITAIN BEHIND THE FRONT

## XXVIII

### THE PERIOD OF VOLUNTARY EFFORT

### (1914–1915)

During the autumn and winter, while her more patriotic or adventurous citizens crowded round the recruiting office and the population took on a noticeable khaki shade, Britain gradually came to understand the realities of war. Belgian refugees in all stages of destitution began to flood the country, with harrowing tales of the destruction of their homes; British wounded became common objects throughout the land, and in November and December German cruisers shelled the peaceable seaports of Yarmouth, Hartlepool, Whitby and Scarborough, before withdrawing with speed and discretion to the shelter of their own shores. In December a German aeroplane dropped the first bomb on Dover, and other air-raids on the east coast followed, which, though for some time they occasioned little damage, caused the utmost indignation. German submarines began to claim a few victims close to the British coast, operating not only to the east and south but entering the Irish Sea, shelling Whitehaven, and sinking merchant ships almost within sight of Liverpool. The only effect, however, of these attacks was to stimulate recruiting and to give rise to anti-German demonstrations which led to the internment of all Germans of military age.

Japan joined the Allies before the end of August, securing the safety of the Pacific with her Navy and manufacturing much-needed munitions for her old enemy, Russia. Two months later Turkey definitely threw in her lot with the Central Powers. The immediate effects so far as England was concerned were the proclamation of a British Protectorate over Egypt, and the detention in that country of homeward-bound reinforcements intended for France. One Indian Corps, of British and Native troops, had already reached Flanders, but all later arrivals

were stopped, including the 29th Division, formed from British garrison troops, and the Australian and New Zealand Corps, which were only to reach France eighteen months later after a glorious if ineffective interlude in Gallipoli.

In the face of the German submarine activity round the Allied coasts and her practice of sowing mines broadcast on the high seas, together with her declaration of a blockade of the British Isles, Great Britain and France found it necessary in March to draw still tighter the naval blockade round the European seaports that supplied the Central Powers. This at once brought renewed protests from the United States on the ground that her trade was being unduly hampered. Since the beginning of the war a number of notes had been exchanged on the subject of the stoppage of neutral shipping. The United States objected to the delays caused to her vessels by their diversion to Allied ports for search and to the interpretation of the term "contraband." Two cases in particular caused considerable excitement. The *Dacia*, a German steamer caught by the war in an American port, had been nominally transferred to a German-American owner, loaded and despatched to Rotterdam. The Allies refused to recognise the transfer, and the ship was captured by the French Navy and condemned as a prize. The *Wilhelmina*, carrying a cargo of food to Germany, was seized at Plymouth as contraband, on the ground that the German Government had assumed control over all imported foodstuffs. But while such cases were being exhaustively argued by experts in international law, the action of Germany relieved the tension. Her declaration of a blockade of Great Britain and her expressed intention of sinking any ships that approached her shores opened a much more serious question: and the actual sinking of a number of vessels with Americans on board, culminating in the torpedoing of the *Lusitania* in May, with the loss of a hundred American citizens, made questions of the delay of a few vessels or the seizure of one or two doubtful cargoes assume very minor dimensions. At the same time Sir Edward Grey was able to show from American figures that her European trade had actually increased rather than diminished during the war.

As a matter of fact the Government of the United States had failed to realise the difficulties of the Allied position. The Allies were engaged in a life-and-death struggle, and the only point in which they possessed a real predominance was at sea. To have admitted such a harbour as Rotterdam (for instance) to be a neutral port within the meaning of international law would have rendered Britain's maritime advantages of no effect,

and the task of allowing a sufficiency of supplies to such neutrals as Holland, Switzerland and Denmark without supplying Germany indirectly with war material was one of great delicacy. Yet throughout the war these neutrals had no cause to complain of any great shortage : in deference to the United States, cotton was not declared contraband till long after its free passage had benefited the German explosive industry ; and while German submarines recklessly sank ships of every nationality, no single neutral lost his life by the action of the Allied Navies.

Meantime, the truce in the political world still continued. In a memorable speech before a brilliant audience at the Lord Mayor's banquet, Mr. Asquith defined the British war aims : " We shall not sheathe the sword until Belgian recovers all and more than all that she has sacrificed, until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression, until the rights of smaller nations are placed on an unassailable foundation, until the military domination of Prussia is fully and finally destroyed."

The House of Commons wore a strange aspect. Numbers of members were absent on active service or on work connected with the war ; ministers, overwhelmed by the duties of their departments, were continually absent. Yet within the House no serious note of criticism was heard. There was no Opposition. The first crisis which the Asquith Government encountered came from outside. The fighting in Flanders in the spring of 1915 revealed a disastrous shortage of shells, particularly of high explosives, which was revealed to the public partly by the newspapers, but still more forcibly by the stories of returned soldiers and the leap in the casualty lists. For the actual shortage the Government had every excuse. Peacetime parsimony had reduced the reserve of munitions to a minimum, and the equipment of recruits had been a severe strain upon the resources of the Ordnance workshops. Moreover, no one could have foreseen that the single battle of Neuve Chapelle would have required practically as much ammunition as was expended throughout the three years of the South African War, nor that high-explosive would so completely supersede the shrapnel that had proved more effective in the open warfare of other campaigns. Already steps had been taken to remedy the deficiency. In March to the Defence of the Realm Act had been added an important amendment mobilising the industrial resources of the country, and empowering the Government to take over any works required to secure an increased output of munitions of war. Vast workshops were being established in many remote localities, and at the very time of the agitation a

disastrous railway accident to a crowded train in a sparsely inhabited district of the Scottish Border first gave the public intimation of the existence of the great shell factory at Gretna Green. Lord Kitchener had paid one of his rare visits to the House of Lords in order to impress upon the workers the urgent need of increasing the output of shells ; and much had already been done in the way of penalising absentees, restricting drinking facilities, and co-ordinating factories, to expedite a better supply. But the Government spokesmen were not content with this defence. While the Prime Minister at Newcastle flatly denied the shortage of shells, other ministers elsewhere gave other explanations, and these disingenuous efforts to appease the popular outcry seriously damaged the prestige of the Government.

The Government was further embarrassed by a recrudescence of labour unrest, particularly noticeable in the engineering trade. The expansion of war factories, occasioning the use of new labour, conflicted with certain trade union rules, and the rise of wages, introduced piecemeal as the cost of living increased, caused ill-feeling among men who felt that they received less benefits than others. The Labour members of the House and the old Trade Union leaders loyally supported the Government, but sectional strikes against the advice of Trade Union executives were common, and though none reached serious proportions, they introduced a new and difficult problem.

In May a change in the Government came with unexpected suddenness, and it was due to internal difficulties—chiefly at the Admiralty, where the disappointment of Gallipoli had caused a breach between Lord Fisher and Mr. Churchill—and not to any action of the Opposition. On May 12 Mr. Asquith found it necessary to state that the admission into the ranks of ministers of leading members of the various political parties of the House was not proposed. A week later he made a complete *volte-face* and announced that "steps are in contemplation which will involve the reconstruction of the Government upon a broader personal and political basis." The proposal was accepted by Mr. Bonar Law before the Whitsuntide recess, and the country for the first time for many years came under a Coalition Government. Already suggestions had been made for a smaller body to direct the general course of the war, but when the names of the new Cabinet were announced, it was found that the number was increased by two. It was composed of twelve Liberals, eight Unionists, one Labour member, and Lord Kitchener (non-political). The Irish Nationalists were invited to take part

but declined. Of the chief ministers of the late Government only three retained their old posts—Mr. Asquith (Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury), Sir Edward Grey (Foreign Secretary) and Lord Kitchener (War). Mr. Balfour succeeded Mr. Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty, with Admiral Sir Henry Jackson as First Sea Lord. Mr. Henderson (Labour) became Minister of Education, and it was understood that he would assist the Government on Labour questions. Lord Lansdowne, the Unionist leader in the House of Lords, became a minister without portfolio, and Mr. Churchill received a minor post. But the most interesting appointment was that of Mr. Lloyd George to the new office of Minister of Munitions.

Mr. Asquith's Coalition Government, with a few changes in personnel, lasted from June 1915 to November 1916. It collapsed finally mainly owing to defects inherent in its constitution; but it had two most important achievements to its credit: it mobilised the nation for war by the enactment of compulsory military service, and it set on foot the vast machinery for supply of munitions that enabled her factories to keep pace with the long series of unparalleled bombardments initiated in the battle of the Somme. The rate of progress is indicated by the fact that all the heavy ammunition produced in the first eleven months of the war would have been expended in one day of that battle.

The new Government at once set to work energetically on their quest for more men, money and munitions. Of the three the second seemed the easiest to harvest. A new War Loan, of unlimited amount at 4½ per cent., was issued in June, special facilities being granted for small investors to deposit amounts down to 5*s*. through the Post Office. The War Loan of November 1914 had produced £331 millions; the 1915 loan produced in a month £570 millions from the Bank and £15 millions (later increased to 30) through the Post Office. Up to March the revenue had come in well over the estimate; the new Budget, postponed till the autumn, increased taxation in many directions. The Income Tax was increased by 40 per cent.; the supertax was made applicable to lower incomes; postal rates were increased, and higher duties were levied on sugar, tea, coffee, cocoa, motor-spirit, etc. A luxury tax was introduced, tapping such commodities as motor-cars, musical instruments and cinema films; and a 50 per cent. tax on "excess profits" made in trade, though highly popular in its conception, caused great difficulties in its equitable enforcement. The resultant income seemed enormous, but the cost of the war had reached £3½ millions

a day, and the agreement by which France, Russia and Great Britain agreed to pool their resources in its effect laid upon the last-named the heaviest financial burden. For the first time a call was made for national economy.

Mr. Lloyd George in particular threw himself into his new task with characteristic energy, and soon galvanised into life the vast machinery for producing munitions which had been initiated by the War Office. To suit the capabilities of different parts of the country he worked on three main systems. In certain industrial areas he established new factories for shell-production, requisitioning machinery from neighbouring works; in Lancashire existing workshops were used with additional machinery; in other districts a central factory was established to complete the work of the surrounding private shops. In August the Royal Ordnance Factories were transferred from the War Office to the new Ministry. All the large private armament works had already come under Government control, so that the problem of organising supply and standardising wages and conditions was simplified.

To provide sufficient labour for the factories was a more delicate task. The dilution of the small leaven of expert labour by unskilled men and girls was clearly imperative, but this ran counter to jealously guarded rules of the Trade Unions. The official Labour leaders patriotically consented to the abrogation of the rules for the duration of the war, and with this the great majority of their followers agreed. But in spite of the opposition of the officials labour troubles broke out in many quarters, particularly on the Clyde and in South Wales, which continued to be centres of unrest throughout the war. Early in the year Admiral Jellicoe had been forced to complain of a strike and of continual loss of time in the Clyde shipbuilding yards: and in July a serious week's strike occurred in the South Wales coalfields for immensely increased wages, which cost the nation over £1,500,000. In both these areas were a number of foreign workmen who felt no patriotic impulse, and saw in the war only an opportunity for self-enrichment, and a body of political agitators who magnified for ulterior ends the common hardships borne by the whole nation. In South Wales, too, there was a strong feeling that the mine-owners were getting an unfair share of profit from the increased price of coal, and an important point in the settlement was the immediate introduction of a bill to limit coal prices. The example of these two districts caused unrest in other quarters: an increase of wages in one place caused a general cry for a similar increase

elsewhere. But the actual abrogation of trade union rules, once it was understood that this was to last for the duration of the war only, caused little outward disturbance. As Mr. Lloyd George pointed out, in the war legislation labour had greatly gained on the balance. Employers had been coerced as well as employed, and many important points in the Labour Party's programme—State control of workshops, limitation of profits, minimum wage, prevention of sweating—had all been enshrined in Acts of Parliament. During the following year the Munitions Act was amended in many directions. The scope of the term " war work " was widened, to bring many subsidiary industries under tighter control ; the licensing hours were reduced and " treating " forbidden ; power was obtained to examine the books of firms on Government work, and other provisions facilitated the dilution of labour.

The industrial troubles caused general uneasiness and were in themselves serious in face of the nation's danger, but that they affected an infinitesimal proportion of British workers is clear from the results. Within a year of the entry of the Coalition Government the munition shops were manufacturing and sending to France weekly as much as the whole pre-war stock of ammunition in the country ; and during that period the output of big guns had increased more than sixfold and of machine-guns fourteenfold. Unemployment was non-existent, pauperism very low, and the general health of the community was excellent.

For the first six months of the war the voluntary system of recruiting men for active service had at any rate produced as many men as the nation could equip, if not sufficient for her needs. The numbers had shown many fluctuations after the first rush was over, periods of slackness being followed by a sudden rise in figures in response to some German outrage or report of British heroism. But by the summer of 1915 a period of general stagnation set in. The patriotic and adventurous had all been gathered in, and the general increase of wages, which had risen to a height out of proportion to the increased cost of living, caused the more cautious to contrast the hardships of military service unfavourably with their present comfort, now that the glamour of being among " the first to go " no longer exercised its spell. Many were confused by the conflicting cries for men for munitions and men for the field, and, having no previous experience of either, decided that they possessed a natural genius for mechanics. Moreover, there was a far from negligible number of men, mostly with responsibility for

dependents, who adopted the cry of " we'll come when we're fetched." They trusted to the Government, whose business it was, distinctly to order them to serve when the need arose, and till then refused to succumb to the catch-penny appeals of the posters. For the dignity of Lord Kitchener's first announcement, " Your King and Country need you," was soon abandoned, and the later phases, when London was placarded with such queries as " Is your best boy in khaki ? " failed to enlist the sympathy of the serious-minded. The action of irresponsible females, who badgered any apparently able-bodied man in civilian clothes without any knowledge of his work or position, also in many cases changed incipient patriotism into resentment. Of the many expedients tried, the idea of raising " pals " battalions, which groups of friends could join in a body, was the most successful and drew many recruits from all the large centres.

Side by side with the feeling that many were not serving who should have been was the growing knowledge that many had gone who should have stayed at home. Many employers, from patriotic motives, had allowed to enlist all among their workmen who wished to do so, and soon found the efficiency of their works handicapped by the loss of their best mechanics. Many of these subsequently had to be withdrawn to munition work after much labour and expense had been wasted on their military training. At the same time in the rush of recruits the medical inspections were very superficial: numbers of men, whose spirit was willing, were found after enlistment to be wholly unfit for active service, and had to be discharged with pensions. There is on record the case of at least one serving soldier with an artificial foot.

When the flood of recruits showed signs of drying up altogether, a serious difficulty presented itself. Owing to the haphazard methods that had been adopted, there was no means of knowing what trade or what district had failed to send its quota, and where to seek for the surplus young men, known to exist by census figures, who had not been accounted for. While Lord Kitchener's original scheme had been framed on a territorial basis, there was no means of preventing a man who lived in one area from enlisting in another. A large number of Yorkshiremen, for instance, had succumbed to the glamour of the kilt. But in the later efforts to stay the decline of numbers the territorial system had been frankly abandoned, and battalions had been formed on the basis of a common profession, height or religion (Bankers, Bantams, Jewish battalions). It was

clear therefore that a national stock-taking was urgently required, and in June a Bill was introduced to empower the taking of a national register, to include all persons between the ages of fifteen and sixty-five in Great Britain, and in such parts of Ireland as the Lord-Lieutenant should direct, with particulars as to their physical fitness and present employment. The measure, which was supported by Mr. Henderson, was passed by a large majority, and an examination of the results, so far as they concerned men between nineteen and forty, revealed the existence of a large residuum of single men not engaged in essential industry. Meanwhile the number of recruits was still dwindling, and in October Lord Derby, who had been most successful in raising battalions in Lancashire, and had organised a dockers' battalion in Liverpool to prevent delay in handling Government stores, was summoned to the War Office as Director of Recruiting. As a last effort to save the voluntary system he brought into operation what became known as the Derby scheme. A personal canvass was conducted throughout the country of all men between the ages of eighteen and forty, with the help of the information gleaned from the National Register. A certain number of men who were judged to be of greater use to the nation in their present employment were "starred" and excluded. Of the remainder, those who agreed to enlist were not necessarily required immediately. They were divided into forty-six groups: the first twenty-three of single men according to age, and the second twenty-three of married men; and each group would be called up when the previous group was exhausted. A special pledge was given to the married men that they would not be required till all available unmarried men had been taken. If sufficient men did not enlist, the only alternative was compulsion.

Voluntaryism under pressure had given way to voluntaryism under threat. The scheme, which was in progress for three weeks, enjoyed a certain success, and in the last few days the queues at the recruiting offices recalled the beginning of the war. The world-wide indignation at the brutal execution of the English nurse, Miss Edith Cavell, by the Germans in Brussels (October 12, 1915) helped to bring many waverers to the colours. But an analysis of the figures revealed the fact that the number of single men who still held back was by no means negligible. Another million men were required. The Government, bound by their promise to the enlisted married men, could not overlook this deficiency of the single, and in the last few days of 1915 decided to impose compulsion. Within the Cabinet, Mr.

McKenna and Mr. Runciman, representing the Exchequer and Board of Trade, criticised the measure on the ground of its damage to finance and trade, but only Sir John Simon resigned. In the country, apart from the Clyde, where six ringleaders were arrested, there was little opposition. The gloomy prophecies that any such measure would bring on a revolution among the working-classes were falsified. A few pacifist meetings were organised, but the dissentients always outnumbered the promoters. The death of Mr. Keir Hardie, the Labour member for Merthyr, led to an unexpected expression of opinion from South Wales: for in the resultant by-election Mr. Stanton, representing the opinion of patriotic labour, defeated a pacifist Labour opponent by over 4,000 votes. And indeed no more democratic measure could be conceived. The bulk of the industrial troubles had been chiefly occasioned by a sense of unfairness—by a feeling that the employer was getting too large a share of the profits or that workmen in another trade were paid higher wages—and a measure that forced master and man, rich and poor, brain-worker and artisan, to undergo the dangers of active service on an equal footing appealed strongly to a vast majority in the country.

The voluntary effort could show a far from contemptible record. Nearly three million men had freely responded to the call of patriotism, and Lord Kitchener had completed his tale of seventy fighting divisions. It was the additional million men necessary to replace wastage and maintain them at full strength in the field that could not be gathered by methods of persuasion.

On December 15, 1915 Field-Marshal Sir John French resigned his command in France and was succeeded by Sir Douglas Haig, the Commander of the First Army. He was created Viscount French of Ypres, and commanded the Home Forces until May 1918, when he went to Ireland as Viceroy.

## XXIX

### THE FALL OF THE ASQUITH GOVERNMENT

### (1916)

While the Government was slowly groping its way in the direction of greater war efficiency at home, increasing difficulties were confronting it in the wider questions of general policy.

The hostile activities of Turkey had given the war a new orientation and led to differences of strategic opinion which were magnified by public controversy into two definite schools of "Westerners" and "Easterners." The former, it was said, held that a defeat of Germany on the Western Front would automatically end all trouble elsewhere, and that military adventures in other quarters only served to divert striking-power from the decisive point. The latter feared lest Germany, faced by an impregnable wall of wire and trenches in France, should carry out her threat of an "eastward thrust," and saw imminent danger to Egypt and India unless some check was placed upon her designs in that direction. Bound up with this difficult strategic question, upon which the technical naval and military advisers held various shades of opinion, was the no less intricate problem of Balkan politics, concerning which the diplomatists expressed similarly divergent views. In the Balkans only Serbia was engaged in the war during the first year of hostilities. On her eastern frontier Bulgaria, frankly repudiating all treaty obligations, was for sale to the highest bidder. Behind her lay Greece, where Venizelos, elected Premier with a large popular majority and a vigorous supporter of the Allied cause, was strongly opposed by a pro-German clique around the Court and the bulk of the army which had been trained under German auspices. To the east, cut off by Bulgaria and Turkey, lay Romania, wholly pro-Ally in sentiment, but impotent to aid their cause unless Russia drove the Germans from Galicia or the Allies forced the Dardanelles and brought assistance by sea.

Here indeed was a mass of difficult questions, only to be solved by a small body of able men who met together after full private study of their subject. But the British Cabinet numbered twenty-two, and each member was responsible for an overworked department, which fully occupied his time between each Cabinet meeting. In such circumstances it was impossible to arrive at any well-reasoned agreement, and on every point that arose there ensued the three stages of acute differences, crisis and eventual compromise. Under these conditions was born the Mesopotamia expedition, whereby a small garrison at the head of the Persian Gulf was metamorphosed into an expeditionary force for Baghdad, without provision for the necessary extra transport or auxiliary services. Hence too came the Gallipoli adventure, described later by Mr. Winston Churchill, one of its reputed fathers, as a "legitimate gamble," which was undertaken largely to influence opinion in Eastern

Europe: owing to the delays in its inception and the parsimony with which troops were supplied, coupled with certain errors in minor generalship, it entirely failed in its object and led to results entirely opposite to the intention of its promoters. For Bulgaria, bought over by higher German promises, attacked Serbia in October 1915, and the force the Allies hastily gathered at Salonika was powerless to save her. Greece, who had pledged herself to support Serbia if attacked by Bulgaria, went back on her word in spite of substantial promises from the Allies; and Gallipoli was evacuated.

All these misadventures had their effects at home. In October 1915 Sir Edward Carson resigned owing to irritation at the lack of a definite policy in the Balkans. In November the Prime Minister, realising the popular feeling, established an inner War Cabinet of five, with himself (acting once again as War Minister during Lord Kitchener's absence in the East) as chairman. The change was illusory: the new council had only advisory powers and no member was relieved of the work of his department. Its chief effect was the resignation of Mr. Churchill, who, finding himself placed outside the inner circle, retired for a short space to command a battalion in the trenches after a bitter defence of his action in the matters of Antwerp and the Dardanelles. The Cabinet had thus lost two members it could ill spare. Whatever mistakes in judgment might be attributed to either by their enemies, they were at any rate not afraid to come to a decision on the problems submitted to them. And it was against indecision and procrastination that the country was in arms.

The first real sign of independence in the House was shown when the Cabinet attempted half-heartedly to turn into detailed statute form the mandate for compulsory service which it had received at the end of 1915. During the autumn the most interesting political feature had been the establishment of two "ginger groups" in the House, consisting of twenty Unionist and twenty Liberal members, whose self-imposed mission was to prod on the Government to the more vigorous prosecution of the war. Their criticisms were never captious: where the Government took a forward step they were unswerving in their support, but they were sworn enemies of compromise and indecision. Their members were very prominent during the various debates on national service that came in with the New Year.

The first National Service Act passed in January 1916 was manifestly a half-hearted compromise. It only concerned single

men and childless widowers who were to be treated as if they had attested under the Derby system. Ireland was omitted from the scope of the Act: and ministers of religion and men lately passed as medically unfit were exempted. Moreover, appeals were allowed to local tribunals who had powers to release men who were employed in necessary national work, were the sole support of dependents or were considered physically unfit, and to exempt from combatant duties those with conscientious objections to combatant service. The Act had not been in operation for a fortnight when grave defects were manifest. Public opinion had already been stirred by the immunity enjoyed by the frequent Zeppelin raiders and by rumours of leakage in the naval blockade of Germany; and the country, which had agreed to compulsion as a necessary evil to be endured for the better prosecution of the war, was in no mood to see it exercised piecemeal. Moreover the military authorities found their calculations upset by the number of exemptions granted by too lenient local tribunals. It was clear that something further must be done, and the nation waited anxiously for the Cabinet's next move.

Future students of the history of the Asquith Coalition cannot fail to note the regularity with which the great feasts of the Church and other occasions of parliamentary holiday brought their successive crises. The explanation has been put forward that while many of the Cabinet were content to put off from day to day the onerous task of making up their minds, a strong group insisted on a definite decision before the temporary discontinuance of their meetings. The crisis about compulsion had come at Christmas 1915, and on the eve of Easter 1916, probably spurred on by a significant by-election at Wimbledon (where a not very strong Independent candidate had, after a week's work in the constituency, defeated the sitting Coalition member), the Prime Minister declared that the Cabinet had come to a decision on national service. An unusual feature was the announcement that a secret session of both Houses would be held at once, at which facts and figures, not for the public ear, would be placed in the possession of members. The secret session was duly held on April 25 and 26, 1915, and lasted two days. In the ordinary session that followed, the new Government Bill, which had been the cause of so much manœuvring, was brought forward in the House of Commons and in two hours was riddled from every side. The only new classes to which it was proposed to extend compulsion were time-expired soldiers who were to be forced to serve for the

duration of the war, and boys, who would be called up for training at the age of eighteen. The main objection was that it was grossly unjust to exercise compulsion piecemeal, and, in particular, that there was a very strong case for refusing to compel time-expired soldiers so long as there were still available in the country able-bodied men who had done no service at all. The Bill was immediately withdrawn.

While this crushing parliamentary defeat might loom large in the minds of the old politicians of the Cabinet, it was quite overshadowed in the imagination of the country by two far more serious blows that fell almost simultaneously. At noon on Easter Monday, 1916, an organised rebellion, fostered by German influences,[1] broke out in Dublin, which was for three days the scene of severe fighting. The first impulse of the Government was to attempt to close down all news, an unfortunate effort which caused general bewilderment at home and permitted German versions to get a long start in neutral countries. The rising was promptly suppressed; but the resignation of the Irish Chief Secretary, Mr. Birrell, who had habitually lived in England and was quite out of touch with Irish opinion, hardly exculpated the Government which had allowed revolution to grow to such proportions unnoticed and unchecked. On the top of this week of disaster came the news of the fall of Qut, the greatest surrender of British troops in modern history, for which again the Government was directly or indirectly responsible. It is safe to say that any one of the three blows would under normal circumstances have been sufficient to overturn the strongest Government, and it was only due to the general loyalty to the political truce and a patriotic reluctance to divide the nation by a contested election that the Asquith Government survived. But henceforth its actions were watched more keenly and criticism became more constant.

The next attempt to solve the National Service problem was more full-blooded. Compulsion was to be exerted upon all males, married and single, between the ages of eighteen and forty-one: the service of men already in the Army was to continue till the end of the war, and discharged soldiers under forty-one were to be recalled to the colours. The effect was instantaneous. There was practically no opposition, and the Bill introduced on May 3 became law three weeks later. During the same month a Daylight Saving Bill was passed for the first

[1] Sir R. Casement, who had been organising assistance in Germany, was captured on the Irish coast and subsequently, after full trial, hanged for high treason.

time, a measure which was estimated to save £2,500,000 in lighting: and this was supplemented in the autumn by provisions for the early closing of shops in winter.

On the last day of the month (May 31, 1916) was fought the battle of Jutland. As must always be the case in modern naval engagements at long ranges, each side was only certain of its own losses and those of the enemy had at first to be surmised, so that the news that three battle-cruisers and three armoured cruisers in the British Fleet had been sunk with practically all hands was clearly a shock to the Admiralty. From the first report it was difficult for the public to gather whether the tidings were of victory or defeat, and, though later results revealed the decisive character of Admiral Jellicoe's achievement, the moral effect of the great victory was at the moment lost upon the nation. A few days later came the tragic death of Lord Kitchener, drowned in the mining of H.M.S. *Hampshire* while on his way to Russia. This disaster plunged in mourning the whole nation, to whom he stood for safety and solidity, and incidentally robbed the Government of one of its strongest buttresses.

In July 1916, amid the first thunders of the great Somme battle, the long agitation for a tighter naval blockade bore fruit in the formal abandonment of the Declaration of London, the international regulations with regard to contraband to which Great Britain had voluntarily submitted in 1914. This was superseded by a new Maritime Rights Order in Council, which strengthened the powers of the Navy considerably. Neutral agents who were known to have forwarded contraband to the enemy during the war were henceforth required to prove that further consignments would not be so used; vessels which had passed through the blockade to enemy ports by means of false papers were liable to subsequent seizure if found on the high seas; and vessels in which half the cargo was contraband were liable to condemnation as prizes of war. The German irritation at the increased blockade was vented on Captain Fryatt, skipper of the steamship *Brussels*, who had lately been captured. Accused of having sunk a submarine in self-defence, he was shot in Bruges, after a brief and farcical court-martial, on July 28, 1916.

The cost of the war was still steadily rising; new devices for defence against aircraft and submarines, with experiments on "tanks," were added to the continuous cry for more shells, heavy guns, aeroplanes and machine-guns of various descriptions. The war expenditure was now five millions a day, and

a vote of credit was passed at one sitting for £450,000,000, the largest hitherto recorded in British financial history.

The crisis which preceded the August recess concerned the taking of a new register of electors. Parliament had long outlived its statutory period and from time to time was prolonging its existence by special Acts, to avoid the confusion of a general election in war-time. But it was clear that at some future time an election must take place, and meanwhile the register of parliamentary electors was becoming completely out of date. The Government measure proposed no extension of the franchise: it aimed merely at correcting the old register and making allowances for the many war-time changes of residence. It was hotly attacked on the ground that no attempt was made to record the votes of serving sailors and soldiers, and, recognising the strength of the opposition, the Government promptly withdrew its Bill.

The recurrence of raids by German destroyers in the Channel led to severe criticism of naval policy during the autumn. The Government at first defended its actions, and then suddenly made drastic changes. Admiral Sir John Jellicoe became First Sea Lord and was succeeded in command of the Grand Fleet by Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty ; and other minor changes of personnel occurred within the Admiralty. At the same time bad news from the Balkans emphasised once again the failure of Allied diplomacy in the Near East. Romania had been pressed to enter the war at an unpropitious moment. Attacked by overwhelming forces she lay at the mercy of her German and Bulgarian invaders and provided Berlin with a new conquest to celebrate. Labour unrest was still visible at home. On November 1 the South Wales coalfields had been taken over by the Board of Trade, but the new régime led at once to a threatened strike which was only avoided by a surrender to the men's demands.

It became clear that the Cabinet was drifting. It seemed to have no settled policy, but took sudden steps one way or another solely in response to outside influences. On the morning of December 5 Mr. Lloyd George resigned. The Cabinet crisis which followed led Mr. Asquith to follow suit a few hours later. King George at once sent for Mr. Bonar Law ; but the Unionist leader, having failed to secure Mr. Asquith's support, replied that he was unable to form a Government. Next day (December 7, 1916) Mr. Lloyd George boldly accepted the King's offer of the post of Prime Minister and proceeded to select his ministers.

Though the change came with unexpected suddenness to

the general public, parliamentary circles had long been aware of trouble within the Cabinet. The full details of the transactions whereby Mr. Lloyd George superseded his former chief have never been made public and have given rise to much controversy. The veil was only partly lifted by the publication of a selection of the correspondence between the two in the American *Atlantic Monthly* a year later, but, though these documents were furnished by a supporter of Mr. Asquith, the letters which are alleged to have caused the subsequent Liberal bitterness towards Mr. Lloyd George were omitted. It is common knowledge that Mr. Lloyd George had long been dissatisfied with the dilatory methods of some of his colleagues and with the cumbersome character of the machinery with which Mr. Asquith was attempting to conduct the war. From the correspondence it appears that Mr. Asquith was quite ready to acquiesce in his proposal for the establishment of a supreme War Cabinet of three to five members who would be relieved of departmental work, even when it was finally suggested that he himself, owing to his duties in the House, should not be a regular member. Then suddenly both sides stiffened : Mr. Asquith insisted on complete control, and Mr. Lloyd George resigned.

It seems clear that Mr. Asquith's Liberal colleagues did not approve of their leader's self-abnegation. They persuaded him that no stable Government could be formed without him, and that even if a split occurred he would eventually be recalled to office with power to form a new and more sympathetic Cabinet. Mr. Lloyd George at the same time became aware that he had an unexpectedly numerous body of supporters. His first step towards independence had been a courageous one, and can be attributed to no cause but a high sense of public duty. He was aware that in his time he had made many enemies ; he had no party organisation behind him ; and he had seen two colleagues so powerful as Sir Edward Carson and Mr. Churchill revolt in turn and retire to unofficial life without effecting any change in the system he was now seeking to destroy. But, once his attitude was known, adherents from all parties gathered to his side. Inside the Cabinet Mr. Bonar Law, and outside it Sir Edward Carson, were the most prominent figures in the discussions between the break-up of the old Government and Mr. Lloyd George's reappearance as Prime Minister. There were other forces, less prominent, at work as well, as there always are at times of political crisis, and Sir Max Aitken, a Canadian M.P., who was shortly to become Lord

Beaverbrook, is credited with special influence behind the scenes. But there was probably never a sudden change of administration in which wire-pulling counted for so little. It was first and foremost an overwhelming revolt of public opinion that drove Mr. Asquith from office; and Mr. Lloyd George soon found that his attitude was endorsed not only by the Unionist party and responsible Labour, but by a considerable section of Liberal members, including the Liberal War Committee and his compatriots from Wales. The decline of the Asquith Government may be traced from the disastrous events of Easter 1916. From that time it had been on probation, and the nation had looked in vain for improvement. Throughout the autumn it was clear that Lord Milner and Sir Edward Carson could at any time take sufficient votes into the lobby to make the position of Unionist ministers untenable, and a division on a small matter of enemy concessions in Nigeria had revealed to the Government the growing strength of the Opposition. Mr. Lloyd George succeeded because he put into a definite policy what many had long been thinking, and his revolt provided an opportunity for a change in Government without expending the energies of the nation in a contested General Election.

The composition of the new Cabinet was eagerly awaited, and its bold conception silenced all immediate criticism. It represented an entirely novel idea in British politics. The general conduct of the war was placed in the hands of a War Cabinet of four principal members—Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Curzon, Lord Milner and Mr. Henderson (the secretary of the Labour Party), none of whom was hampered by any departmental duties. Mr. Bonar Law, who became Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons, was also a member, but was not expected to attend so regularly and would not share the same responsibility as the other four. All the heads of the great Government departments remained outside this inner Cabinet, but would have free access to it, with their expert advisers, when matters concerning their work came up for discussion. Ten members of the late Cabinet remained in office and twelve retired. Among the new ministers were a number of successful business men hitherto unknown in the political world. Sir Albert Stanley, long connected with the London Underground Railway and motor omnibus systems, became President of the Board of Trade; Lord Rhondda, a South Wales coal-owner, went to the Local Government Board; to Lord Devonport and Sir Joseph Maclay were given the new

posts of Food Controller and Shipping Controller; and two Labour members became first heads of the Ministries of Labour and Pensions. The Board of Education received as its chief a distinguished educationalist in Dr. H. A. L. Fisher, and the Board of Agriculture an experienced agriculturist in Mr. R. E. Prothero. An Air Minister and a Minister of National Service were added in the first few days of the new administration. Sir Edward Carson became First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Balfour Foreign Secretary, and Mr. Chamberlain remained at the India Office.

The establishment of a new Government pledged to a still more energetic prosecution of the war was not without its effect upon the enemy: for on December 13, 1916 it was announced that Germany had for the first time made direct overtures to the Allies. Germany still spoke as a victor, and her proposals offered no prospect of immediate peace. But a conference of the Allies, which revealed that the answers each had independently suggested were practically identical, served to bring them closer together in a common demand for "restitution, reparation and guarantee against repetition." On December 20 the United States issued a Note to the belligerents asking them to state their war aims and offering mediation; and this was followed by a similar message from Switzerland. But in the face of Germany's attitude such proposals were of no effect, and in Great Britain only aroused some irritation at the unwarranted interference of those who were taking no share in the burdens of the struggle.

## XXX

### HOLDING ON: AND THE CRISIS OF THE WAR

### (1917–1918)

THROUGHOUT the last two years of the Great War (December 1916—November 1918) the British nation was called upon to make continuously increasing sacrifices in every direction. German air-raids increased in frequency and destructiveness. The new intensity of the submarine campaign (from February 1917) at once made all luxuries impossible and soon caused a growing shortage of necessaries, till in 1918 every man, woman and child in Great Britain was strictly rationed in all the staple articles of diet. From January 1, 1917 all railway services

were cut down and fares raised by 50 per cent.; lighting restrictions followed and coal was controlled. The high hopes engendered by the first news of the Russian revolution in March 1917 were quickly followed by disillusionment, and the complete collapse of the Russian armies in the autumn demanded from Great Britain more men, munitions and money to meet the new forces Germany was able to transfer to the West. The accession of the United States to the Allied side in April 1917 was full of hope for the future, but her extra demands for shipping to transport her troops and their equipment led at the moment to increased scarcity in Great Britain. At the same time the continual passing of great events and the constant reversals of fortune induced a mental strain harder to bear than the physical privations.

The year 1916 had seen the raids by Zeppelins over England reach their high-water mark. A dozen had occurred in the early spring, in the course of which airships flying from Belgium had shown their ability to cross England and had dropped bombs near Birmingham; and, after a lull from May to July, the attacks recommenced in greater force. On September 2 the first Zeppelin was destroyed on British soil by Lieut. Leefe Robinson, who attacked "L 21" in an aeroplane and brought it down in flames at Cuffley, a few miles north of London; and from this time, though Zeppelins continued to come at intervals and upon occasion caused serious casualties, hardly a squadron returned without the loss of one or more of their number. The damage done by the Zeppelin raids failed to justify the cost, and from the end of the year the Germans began to replace the airship by the bomb-dropping aeroplane, which proved a much more difficult enemy to encounter. These aeroplanes, mostly of the Gotha type, set out in large squadrons escorted by fighting machines; and, while the Zeppelin was forced to visit England by night, the swifter and more invisible aeroplanes made many of their most destructive raids at midday. In May 1917 Folkestone suffered 150 casualties, and during June and July London and the Medway were attacked. One particularly destructive raid was made on the east end of London on June 13, when 162 were killed and 432 injured; a bomb fell on an infant school, killing sixteen small children and wounding 100 others. The attacks again became serious in September, and continued sporadically till, after a final effort in May 1918, the Allied advance swept over the aerodromes from which the raids had been directed. The air-raids had no military importance; they failed to shake in any way the determina-

tion of the British people. But the gloom of the darkened streets on winter evenings and the disturbed nights of those working at high pressure during the day were a factor in the general discomfort. The warning signals for air-raids—the discharge of maroons as a preliminary warning, a sharp whistle for "Take cover" and a blast on the bugle for "All clear," the two latter being chiefly carried out by boy-scouts on bicycles —reached a high standard of organisation.

The movement for national economy was forcibly accelerated in February 1917, when Germany opened her "unrestricted" submarine campaign with considerable initial success. Hitherto the submarine had played only a minor part in the war. In March 1916, in response to a strong note from the United States, Germany had undertaken, conditionally, not to sink merchant-vessels without warning nor without due regard to the safety of passengers and crews, at the same time requiring the United States to use her influence in favour of a modification of the Allied naval blockade. The end of the year saw that blockade drawn still tighter. The Peace Notes of President Wilson had wrung from the Allies no concession to Germany. Jutland had dispelled all hope of breaking the cordon by a naval battle. But meanwhile Germany had produced a fleet of larger submarines with a vastly increased radius of action, and saw in their unrestricted use a last hope of crippling the Allies at sea. From February 1, 1917 she declared a strict blockade of all the Allied coasts, placing round them an arbitrary "barred zone" within which any vessel, enemy or neutral, would navigate at her own peril, and be liable to be mined or torpedoed at sight. To the United States was conceded the special privilege of sending one vessel a week to the port of Falmouth.

The American Government hotly protested, and, receiving no satisfaction, declared war on Germany in April. But already the increased activities of the submarines had led to a critical situation. The tonnage of British vessels sunk in February was double the total for January and reached the alarming figure of 500,000 tons. This rate of destruction continued throughout March and showed a further rise in the third week of April. If the same average were maintained, the Allied shipyards, working at highest pressure, would be unable to replace one-half of the loss.

From its first appearance the danger was vigorously tackled in many directions. The new anti-submarine department of the Admiralty, working closely with Lord Fisher's Board of Inven-

tions, was preparing an infinity of new devices for entrapping the enemy; merchant-ships were gradually armed with new anti-submarine weapons, were dazzle-painted in protective colourings and were, where possible, despatched in convoys under escort; and the figures of British ships sunk in April were never attained in any subsequent month. The building of new ships to replace losses was expedited in many ways, and increased output was secured by a system of piecework and payment by results. An expensive experiment in constructing national shipyards was long in maturing and had produced nothing tangible by the date of the Armistice.

At the same time imports of all kinds were ruthlessly cut down. The quantity of imported iron ore, timber, paper, leather, wine and spirits was greatly reduced, and the introduction of many non-essential commodities prohibited altogether. In particular ceaseless efforts were made, from the beginning of 1917 to the end of the war, to reduce the consumption of food and to stimulate home production. The office of Food Controller became one of the most onerous in the Government, and one regulation succeeded another in rapid succession. Lord Devonport's health failed beneath the strain and he resigned in June 1917; and Lord Rhondda, his successor, died at his post a year later. The first attempts at rationing the population were entirely of a voluntary order: a schedule, framed on fairly liberal lines, was published in February 1917, and was scrupulously followed by the majority of households, with Buckingham Palace leading the way. As the summer went on the scale was gradually reduced. The wheat harvest had failed: the lack of foodstuffs had lessened the supply of livestock and milk, and for the first time a general shortage was felt. In a bitterly cold December long food queues made a daily appearance at the shops, and, beginning in February 1918, a compulsory system of rationing for the main articles of food was introduced in London and soon spread throughout the country. The change in the food situation in the course of the year may be illustrated by a comparison of the ration schedules. The first voluntary scale in February 1917 allowed to each individual, per *day*—bread, 4 lbs.; meat, 2½ lbs.; and sugar, ¾ lb. In January 1918 the *weekly* allowance (which became the basis of the compulsory scheme in February) was –bread, 8 lbs. to 2½ lbs. (according to sex and occupation); cereals other than bread, 12 ozs.; meat, 2 lbs.; butter, margarine and other fats, 5 ozs.; sugar, 8 ozs. In July 1918 the system was simplified by the issue to every individual of a small

book of coupons, without which none of the scheduled articles could be procured.

To stimulate the home production of cereals the Corn Production Act was passed in July 1917. By this measure the State practically entered into partnership with the agricultural interest. Farmers were required to plough a greatly increased acreage, and in return the State guaranteed a minimum price for wheat and oats. At the same time a minimum wage for agricultural labourers was introduced, and powers were given to enforce the proper cultivation of land. From April 1917 it became an offence to use wheat, rye or rice for any purpose other than human food, and at the end of the same month all flour mills were taken over by the Food Controller.

Side by side with these problems of food, shipping and agriculture, the difficulty of securing sufficient men for active service without injuring essential industries at home continued to be acute for the remainder of the War. The National Service Acts of 1916 did not in practice yield the estimated number of recruits. In January 1918 the Government took the whole question of exemption on occupational grounds out of the hands of the too lenient local tribunals, and the critical situation in France in March and April 1918 led to the passing of a sweeping new measure—the last man-power Act of the war. No fit man below the age of twenty-five was to be retained in any civil employment: the age limit for the Army was raised to fifty years, and in the case of those with special qualifications (e.g. doctors) to fifty-five. Ireland was for the first time included in the Act, although, in the event, compulsion was never applied to that country.

The control of the civilian workers, foreshadowed by the establishment of the Ministry of National Service, never reached a compulsory stage: but a valuable list of industries, arranged in the order of their national importance, was compiled, and large numbers of fit men employed in essential work were replaced by unfit volunteers. In August 1917 Sir Auckland Geddes, who had been in charge of recruiting at the War Office, succeeded Mr. Neville Chamberlain as Director of National Service, and that Ministry soon took over the task of recruiting for the Army, which it had been considered advisable to transfer to civilians. But all the measures for the extended use of man-power would have been fruitless had it not been for the voluntary co-operation of women. From the beginning of the war women had come forward in great numbers to replace men in

almost every form of employment. Agriculture was already dependent upon their work; banks and business offices appeared to be almost entirely staffed by them; and in the engineering trades the proportion of women to men, which stood at one to four before the war, had risen by December 1916 to more than four to one. Some 80,000 women (V.A.D.) had volunteered for menial work in the hospitals, and many others, including members of the Women's Legion and the Nursing Yeomanry, had long been driving ambulance-cars both at home and in France. The year 1917 saw a great extension of their activities on a more organised basis. Queen Mary's Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (W.A.A.C.) enlisted women to act as clerks, typists, cooks, waitresses, etc., to the army at home and at bases abroad, and in a few months numbered 20,000; and to this were soon added the Women's Royal Naval Service (Wrens) and the Women's Royal Air Force (Penguins) to give similar aid to the other fighting services and release fit men for the front. At the same time a large number of women, enrolled in the Women's Land Army, were added to the agricultural workers. In civil life women practically superseded men as motor-drivers, railway porters, tram-conductors, gardeners, window-cleaners and many other unwonted tasks. It was only fitting that women should receive new privileges in return, and the year 1917 first brought them the right to be admitted as solicitors, and, in its closing days, the promise of the parliamentary franchise.

The new form of government introduced by the Lloyd George Coalition proved a more efficient machine than its predecessor in the exceptional circumstances of the time. The heads of departments, freed from constant attendance at Cabinet meetings and often absent from Parliament, found time to work out in detail a large number of measures; besides those already mentioned, a far-reaching Education Bill, raising the standard of school age, restricting juvenile employment, providing for physical as well as mental training, and raising the status of teachers, was introduced in 1917 and passed in the following summer. But the expectations of those who hoped for a saving of expenditure from the introduction of business men into Government departments were soon falsified. The captains of industry brought with them from their wealthy corporations large ideas in the matter of staffs and offices. The old departments had already overflowed from the Government buildings into temporary huts erected in the parks and public spaces; and to meet new requirements in London alone eight

hotels, three clubs, one town-hall and some fifty other buildings were soon requisitioned.

The reduced Cabinet, which sat almost daily from December 9, 1916, was able to devote its entire energy to the general conduct of the war. One of its earliest acts showed a refreshing breadth of vision. On Christmas Day 1916 an invitation was extended to the Prime Ministers of the Dominions and representatives of India to meet home ministers as an Imperial War Cabinet in the following March, thus admitting those who had willingly shared the burden of Empire to have a voice in the conduct of the war and the essentials of peace. In the Near East there were at last signs of a definite British policy, culminating in the enforced abdication of the pro-German King Constantine of Greece (June 1917) and the appearance of the regular Greek army at the side of the Allies in Salonika. A redistribution of troops permitted forward movements in Palestine and Mesopotamia which led to striking triumphs at an early date. Throughout, the Cabinet urged the importance of closer military co-operation with France and Italy, and warmly concurred in Sir Douglas Haig's views when an Allied Military Council was established at Versailles in November 1917 and when in March 1918 the supreme control of the Western Front was granted to General Foch. Its naval policy was on the side of more vigorous action. In May 1917 a Naval War Staff was appointed with Sir John Jellicoe, the First Sea Lord, as its head; and in the following December Vice-Admiral Sir Rosslyn Wemyss, a leader of the "forward" party, succeeded Sir John Jellicoe at the Admiralty. In April 1918 the naval and military Flying Corps were merged in the Royal Air Force, and the joint advisory board became a complete Air Ministry, under Lord Rothermere. At home the Cabinet made a determined effort to settle outstanding difficulties. The question of the registration of electors, which had proved so full of difficulty to the Asquith Government, was solved by a far-reaching Reform Bill (passed January 1918) which not only included a redistribution of constituencies but doubled the old electorate by the inclusion of women over thirty and all serving soldiers and sailors; and another attempt was made to settle the Irish question by the establishment of a convention of moderate Irishmen of all parties, which assembled in June 1917 and remained in session till the following April.

The chronicle of political events in 1917 may be summarised briefly; for though many incidents occurred which loomed large in the tense conditions prevailing, few of them left any

permanent mark upon the history of the time. An exception was the conference of the Empire Premiers, which met in April and sat till June; it proved such a success that it was at once decided to continue the meetings annually. The South African representative, General Smuts, who had been an outstanding figure in the discussions, remained in England and became a sixth member of the War Cabinet. In July and August the chief topics of interest were the publication of the report of the Mesopotamia Commission and the proposal to hold an International Labour Conference at Stockholm. The Mesopotamia report, like that on the Dardanelles that preceded it, contained a pitiful revelation of indecision and incapacity, and the strictures passed on the conduct of the Indian Government caused Mr. Austen Chamberlain, as its home representative, to insist upon handing in his resignation. The Stockholm proposals met with no favour in French and Belgian labour circles, whose representatives naturally refused to sit at a table with German "comrades," but they received sufficient support in Great Britain to divide the Labour Party on the question. In August, quite unexpectedly, Mr. Arthur Henderson, who had lately returned from a visit to Russia, threw all his influence on the side of the advocates of the Stockholm meeting. In this he was diametrically opposed to his colleagues in the War Cabinet, who not unnaturally objected to his using his influence as one of the chief members of the Government in direct opposition to the Government policy. On August 11 Mr. Henderson resigned his position as a member of the Cabinet, and at the Trade Union Conference in September a representative Labour gathering declared against the Stockholm meeting.

These difficulties were partly responsible for the first reconstruction of the Lloyd George Government which took place in July and August 1917. Sir Edward Carson left the Admiralty in July to become the seventh member of the War Cabinet. He was succeeded by Sir Eric Geddes, the former deputy manager of the North-Eastern Railway Company, who, after a short and successful career as director of transportation in France, had come home to assist at the Admiralty in May. It can seldom have happened that a civilian, in his first year's service, has gained the right to wear successively the uniforms of a major-general and of a vice-admiral. Dr. Addison left the Ministry of Munitions to take the new post of Minister in Charge of Reconstruction, and was succeeded by Mr. Churchill; and Mr. E. S. Montagu took Mr. Chamberlain's place as Secretary for India. On Mr. Henderson's resignation

in August, Mr. G. Barnes, who had acted as Labour representative in the War Cabinet during Mr. Henderson's absence in Russia and France, became a permanent member of that body. At the same time Sir Auckland Geddes, brother of Sir Eric, became Director of National Service.

During the autumn the Labour Party was reconstituted, with a view to securing full benefit from the Reform Bill, which had successfully reached its last stages. Hitherto the party had consisted solely of Trade Unions and similar labour organisations ; in future individuals—" all workers by hand or brain "—were invited to become members, and special provision was made for their representation in the councils of the party. At the same time four women were added to the National Executive.

In November considerable excitement was caused by the publication in the *Daily Telegraph* of a letter (previously refused by *The Times*) in which Lord Lansdowne advocated a peace by negotiation. The letter received undue attention owing to the eminence of the writer as a former Unionist leader who had only left the Cabinet a year before ; but the incident had no political significance and the response it elicited revealed how completely public opinion endorsed the Prime Minister's view that there was " no half-way house between defeat and victory."

In June 1917 King George had decided to change the name of his family and to relinquish all German titles and dignities ; the Royal House became the House of Windsor. At the same time British titles were given to those members of his family who had previously borne titles of German origin ; thus (for instance) Prince Louis of Battenberg became Marquess of Milford Haven, Prince Alexander of Teck Earl of Athlone. The action was warmly appreciated by the whole Empire, and served to bind Throne and people together by still closer ties.

The year 1917 had seen a great increase in industrial unrest, the majority of the disputes occurring in the engineering trade. A disquieting feature was the marked inability of the trade union leaders to restrain their own followers, a result largely due to the " shop-stewards " movement. The shop-stewards were workmen chosen as spokesmen by their fellow-employees in individual factories, but they had no recognised place in the trade union organisation and often acted contrary to agreements concluded by the trade union executives. Their power was strengthened by the fact that almost every strike was settled by the award of an additional bonus or a rise in wages to the strikers ; thus the strike of a Liverpool branch of railwaymen in November, undertaken against the advice of the Union

executive and opposed by other branches, resulted in the increase of the traffic men's wages by nine and a half millions a year. Various steps were taken by the Government to check the evil. In June 1917 a committee, which had been deliberating under the chairmanship of Mr. J. A. Whitley, presented a report advocating the establishment of joint councils of employers and employed, which would meet regularly and discuss such matters as conditions of work, adjustment of wages, security of employment and industrial research. In July Mr. Barnes presented the results of an enquiry undertaken by commissions set up in different areas: high prices and unequal distribution of food, restriction of personal freedom and lack of organisation in trade unions were found to be main causes of unrest. But in spite of incessant advances in wages, reduction of hours and measures dealing with food prices and other grievances mentioned in the reports, strikes continued to occur. At the end of November 50,000 engineers employed in aeroplane construction at Coventry went on strike, and the year 1918 brought a fresh crop of disputes, mainly in the mining, textile and engineering industries, which, though mostly short-lived, were a continual hindrance to the successful prosecution of the war. There was a notable lull in March and April, when Germany was making her last bid for victory and Britain had her back to the wall, but with the turn of the tide troubles broke out with renewed vigour. Every class of industry seemed to be involved, and London had the unusual experience of strikes of policemen and of girls employed in tube railways.

But in all the manifestations of industrial unrest there was no sign among the working-classes of any weakening of purpose with regard to the war. No pacifist speaker could gain a hearing. Munition-workers voluntarily offered to forgo their legal holidays; and when fatal accidents occurred in explosive factories there was never a lack of volunteers to take the vacant places in the danger sheds. In the worst months of the submarine menace not a single sailor refused to go to sea. And the same spirit was abundantly shown in the flow of money subscribed for national purposes by all classes of the community till the very end of the war. The third War Loan (January 5—February 19, 1917) brought in £962,200,000 of new money, contributed by 5,289,000 persons in sums great and small; and the issue in the following October of National War Bonds—a combination of short-time and longer-dated securities which were for continuous sale—met with a singularly successful response, all the great towns of the kingdom striving in generous

rivalry to exceed the totals contributed by their neighbours. And it was well that it was so. The subsidies to keep down the cost of the loaf and of potatoes ; the new bonus paid to miners, munition-workers, railwaymen and civil servants ; the cost of new ministries and boards of control ; the higher pay for soldiers ; the vastly increased expenditure of shells, all steadily contributed to a startling rise in the cost of the war. In these last two years the highest sum previously recorded for a Vote of Credit was three times exceeded (February 1917, £550,000,000 ; July 1917, £650,000,000 ; and August 1918, £700,000,000) ; and in June 1918 the war was costing the country £7,750,000 a day, an increase of a million and a quarter in the past year.

The year 1918 opened stormily. The temperature was the lowest recorded for years, and gales at sea were followed by destructive floods on land. In the opening days a disastrous mine explosion in Staffordshire added to the general gloom, and the feeling of unrest manifested itself in a growing criticism of Government policy in the House of Commons. The menace too of a great German attack in France, reinforced by many divisions from the Russian front, was daily becoming more pressing, and every nerve was strained to provide more men for the expected shock.

When it came at last, however, on March 21, and our own lines were broken through and driven back for many miles, the country set its teeth and refused to be daunted. Thousands of men and masses of guns and munitions were poured into France, and the ever-increasing flood of American troops restored confidence among those inclined to be faint-hearted. Lord Milner was sent over with plenary powers for the institution of unity of command ; and the appointment of General Foch, first of all as co-ordinator of Allied action and later (April 14) as Commander-in-Chief, foreshadowed the ultimate triumph of the Allied arms.

Meanwhile, there was a steady stream of what became known as " sniping " debates in the House, in which the Cabinet was attacked on a variety of grounds ; but the critics rarely challenged a division. The most frequent were initiated by self-constituted champions of the Army, who constantly alleged, on sometimes slender grounds, political interference with military matters. The resignation of Sir William Robertson as Chief of the General Staff [1] in February and of Sir Hugh Trenchard as Chief of the Air Staff [1] in April were in turn made

[1] Succeeded respectively by General Sir H. H. Wilson and Major-General F. H. Sykes.

the occasion of demonstrations that were effectively answered; but the attack that was most hotly pressed was in the case of the Maurice letter, when Mr. Asquith strove to rally all the recalcitrant elements in the House against the Government. In May Major-General Sir Frederick Maurice, who, as Director of Military Operations, had till lately been military adviser to the Cabinet, in defiance of all Army regulations published a letter in the press charging the Government with deliberate misstatements on the military situation. Mr. Lloyd George's answer was complete and, to the outside world, crushing: that, if the statements made were in fact untrue, which was doubtful, they were all based on information supplied or tacitly accepted by Sir Frederick Maurice himself.[1] The ensuing division resulted in the complete discomfiture of Mr. Asquith and his handful of supporters.

In April the Irish Convention, which had been sitting since the previous June, issued a majority report in favour of a form of Home Rule, but it came at an unfavourable moment for further progress. The Nationalist members, incensed at the proposed extension of compulsion to Ireland, had walked out of the House and absented themselves from subsequent sittings; and this was followed by the discovery at Whitsuntide of a widespread pro-German conspiracy in Ireland. Great Britain was in no mood to grant concessions, and the matter dropped.

In the same month Lord Milner left the War Cabinet for the War Office on Lord Derby's appointment as British ambassador at Paris, and Mr. Austen Chamberlain took his place in the Cabinet. Lord Northcliffe, on his return from a mission to the United States, had been appointed Director of Propaganda in Enemy Countries. But in June and July the turn of the tide in France rendered such work no longer necessary, for the successive defeats of the invincible German war machine, out-fought and out-generalled, supplied all the propaganda needed. As better news arrived from France, Great Britain was visited by an alarming epidemic of influenza which took heavy toll of the nation worn out by anxiety and lacking medical luxuries. In the first week there were 218 deaths, and by October the weekly death-rate in London alone had reached 760. But while pestilence swept the country, while strikes of every kind depleted the national resources and crowds flocked round the collecting-tanks to make good the loss by buying War Bonds, the valour of the Allied troops was steadily forcing

[1] Sir F. Maurice subsequently completely refuted this statement.

a decision in the field. The end of September saw the surrender of Bulgaria, followed a month later by that of Turkey ; and at 11 a.m. on November 11, 1918 a salvo of maroons announced to London that the Central Powers had accepted the Allied conditions and that the long road to victory had at last been traversed.

For service on land the British Empire had provided 8,654,467 soldiers, of whom one-fifth consisted of coloured troops. Towards this total the United Kingdom had contributed 5,704,416, or more than a quarter of the total male population. Of these, in addition to the Army (733,514) already existing at the outbreak of the war, 4,006,158 were raised in England, 557,618 in Scotland, 272,924 in Wales and Monmouth and 134,202 in Ireland.[1] By the end of the war the mobilised strength of the British Empire had exceeded that of any other Power engaged in the struggle.[2]

[1] These figures, derived from a careful analysis of the official records, were published by the *Round Table*, June 1919.

[2] It need hardly be said that the above figures do not include the vast man- and woman-power also mobilised for home and foreign assistance. The number of women engaged, at the date of the Armistice, in various forms of national service other than nursing and munitions amounted to 2,239 officers and 303,380 others, whilst close on another 5,000,000 were engaged in 1,701 different kinds of work previously done by men.

# SECTION III. AFTER THE WAR

# AFTER THE WAR

## XXXI

### PEACE AND RECONSTRUCTION

### (1919–1920)

The end of the war brought with it the end of a remarkable Parliament. Originally elected for the period of seven years, one of its first Acts had been to reduce its own duration to five years; but during the war its life had been six times prolonged by special enactments and it had now nearly completed its eighth year of existence. At the same time that Mr. Bonar Law announced the imminent dissolution of Parliament the Labour Party, which had already terminated the party truce in by-elections, decided to withdraw its members from the Coalition Ministry. With some reluctance all withdrew except Mr. Barnes, who severed his connection with the Labour Party.

The General Election (in accordance with the Reform Act) was held on one day (December 14) throughout the United Kingdom, but the votes were not counted till a fortnight later to allow of the receipt of postal votes from the troops on the Western Front. Little time was available for electioneering speeches and propaganda, and the electorate, which included for the first time six million women, was thus enabled to come to its decision without disturbing influences. The result was a remarkable victory for the Lloyd George Coalition, which succeeded in winning 484 seats out of 707; every minister was returned with a large majority. Far different was the fate of Mr. Asquith and the Liberal Opposition. Mr. Asquith himself was defeated in the Liberal stronghold of East Fife, and all the ministers who had followed him into retirement shared his fate. Only 26 non-Coalition Liberals were returned. The Labour Party made a great effort, running 370 candidates and increasing its representation in the House to 59. The leaders

of the patriotic wing of Labour won sweeping victories, but the Pacifist candidates were decisively rejected. In Ireland the Sinn Fein extremists completely turned the tables upon the Nationalists. In the old Parliament there had been 77 Nationalists and 7 Sinn Feiners; in the new there were 7 Nationalists and 73 Sinn Feiners. In the north-eastern counties the old Unionist leaders received enormous majorities.

Before the end of the previous session an Act had been passed making women eligible to sit in the House of Commons, but, though several appeared as candidates, only one was elected. This was the Countess Markiewicz, an Irishwoman, who was elected for a Dublin constituency in the Sinn Fein interest. But, with the remainder of her party, she never took her seat at Westminster. The first woman to do so was Lady Astor, who, when her husband succeeded to the peerage, in the following November, was elected in his place as member for Plymouth, taking her seat on December 1, 1919.

The new Ministry, which was announced early in the New Year, contained few surprises; of the 77 ministers all but ten had held office in the previous Government. The selection of Lord Birkenhead (Sir F. E. Smith) as Lord Chancellor, and of Mr. Churchill as Secretary for War and Air Minister, was strongly criticised. But the most interesting departure was the appointment of Lord Sinha as Under-Secretary of State for India: he was the first Indian to hold office in the British Government or to sit in the House of Lords. During the following summer two new Ministries were created. Sir Eric Geddes became head of a Ministry of Transport, which undertook the construction of roads and the control of railways, and Dr. Addison was appointed first head of the Ministry of Health, which took over various duties from the Board of Education and Local Government Board, and was also responsible for the vexed question of housing. An interesting feature of the new Parliament was the claim of the Labour Party, as the second largest party in the House, to be regarded as the official Opposition, a position hitherto considered to be the prerogative of the Liberal or Unionist Parties. A compromise was reached, and the Speaker called in turn upon the leaders of the Labour and Liberal Parties.

The external history of Great Britain during the next two years is a part of the history of the Peace Conference and of the League of Nations, and is briefly dealt with under those headings (*v.* pp. 270–276). But these deliberations had important consequences within the British Empire; for the great self-

governing Dominions all sent their representatives to the Peace Conference upon equal terms with those of the mother country, and the treaties were ratified separately by their Parliaments.

During the year 1919 was also passed the Government of India Bill, based upon the report issued by Mr. Montagu (Secretary for India) and the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford, the previous year. To a greater and more direct extent Indians were associated with the work of the Government, and representatives of both races were appointed to act as Legislative Councils for the different districts. The Act, which was regarded as a step towards self-government for India, came into force from the beginning of 1921.

The Armistice with the Central Powers had not at once restored peace to the country. A war broke out with Afghanistan and lasted from May to August 1919; British troops remained at Archangel, and were only withdrawn in December; and the forces in Mesopotamia continued for two years to strive to maintain order against the frequent risings of Arab marauders. In other theatres the British armies were rapidly demobilised: to the released soldiers and to those discharged from other national duties unemployment pay was given for a time; and in March 1919 over a million persons were drawing the donation. From this time, owing to closer surveillance by the authorities and a temporary boom in trade, the number was quickly reduced, and the bulk of the surplus labour was soon absorbed in industry.

The war had brought many social changes to Great Britain, and in many cases the wealth of the country was found to have changed hands. While many had made great fortunes, the increased cost of living weighed very heavily upon the clergy and the professional and pensioned classes: and the growing taxation and cost of repairs, with the legal prohibition of raising rents to meet them, caused many of the great landowners to sell their estates. With the whole population settling down to normal life, houses, furniture, clothing and other necessaries had to be procured at any price, and this gave an unreal sense of prosperity to trade which lasted through 1919. But in 1920 the decreased spending power of the public in face of the still rising cost of living began to have its natural effect, and a serious wave of unemployment began to manifest itself in the autumn. In October 1919 the cost of living was stated to be 120 per cent. in excess of pre-war prices, and a year later the figure had risen to 160 per cent.

It cannot be said that organised Labour offered any sub-

stantial help to the country in its difficulties, and, at a time when an increase of production was the only means of quickly restoring the financial stability of the nation, strikes were frequent and intentional limitation of output far too common. Soon after the Armistice the extremists boldly claimed the right to use the strike as a weapon to attain political ends quite outside the sphere of industry. This "direct action" was strongly opposed by the bulk of the nation, who had greater trust in the rule of their own elected representatives than in that of a small and violent section of the population. The great railway strike of September 26—October 6, 1919, which was rushed on when the protracted negotiations seemed to be nearing a successful issue, was a direct challenge to the Government on the question. But the public showed no sympathy with the strikers. Volunteers came forward from all classes, and a modified train-service was soon restarted, while all who possessed vehicles of any kind placed them freely at the disposal of the State. The strike collapsed, and Labour gradually turned to more constitutional action.

The question of the coal-mines continued to be an anxious one for some time. Trouble appeared in South Wales soon after the Armistice and was only checked by the appointment of a commission under Mr. Justice Sankey. The commission was strongly divided in opinion, and while the Government accepted the majority report as regards increase of wages, it deferred judgment on the wider question of control. The threat of a strike hung over the heads of the nation for a year to the great detriment of industry, and the situation became acute in July and August 1920. Protracted negotiations followed, and there was found to be a large minority of miners totally opposed to a strike. The great Yorkshire coalfield was equally divided on the question, and it was only the vote of South Wales, Lancashire and Nottingham that led to the final rupture. On October 16 the men left work and the strike lasted for seventeen days. By the terms of the settlement the men received a small immediate increase of wages, but an important feature was the consent of the miners to take certain steps to increase production and the recognition of the fact that the rise and fall of wages must depend upon output.

Meanwhile the state of Ireland had gone from bad to worse. Early in 1919 the Sinn Fein leaders declared a republic, and outrages on British officials occurred in many parts. During the year some fourteen policemen were murdered and much Government property was destroyed. On December 19, 1919

an unsuccessful attempt was made upon the life of the Viceroy, Lord French. In 1920 matters became still more serious, and when various parties of troops and police had been waylaid and brutally murdered, the loyalists began here and there to commit acts of reprisal. The railways had practically ceased running, and all sense of security was at an end. At the close of 1920 there were signs that the leaders of Sinn Fein were prepared to enter into negotiations with the Government (see volume on Ireland).

As always occurs when a party is returned to power with a superabundant majority, the Coalition met with much criticism and soon lost seats at by-elections. But the Prime Minister received a triumphant ovation from the House on his return from Versailles after the signing of the German treaty (June 28, 1919). The small War Cabinet continued to exist until October 1919, when it gave way to a normal Cabinet of nineteen members. A number of important Bills became law during the year: among them were the Government of India Act; the Church Enabling Bill, which allowed to the National Church power to make certain needed reforms and granted to its lay members a greater share of control; and the Housing Bill, which sought to stimulate building by offering a subsidy up to £150 a house to private builders, authorised local authorities to issue housing bonds, and arrested luxury building. But many other measures failed to pass owing to lack of time in which to consider them or of money with which to carry them out. Early in 1920 the Prime Minister introduced and passed a new Home Rule Bill, which proposed to set up two self-governing Parliaments for N.E. Ulster and the remainder of Ireland. Each was to elect its own Second Chamber, and a link between the two was provided by a joint Federal Council of forty members elected in equal parts by the provincial legislatures.

The financial situation of the country still gave ground for anxiety. While taxation was as heavy as the country could bear, expenditure in 1920 was still considerably in excess of the national income, and the Government was hotly criticised for lack of economy. That there must necessarily be a certain amount of waste in the transition from war to peace was evident, but the statistics adduced by the rival parties differed so radically that it was difficult for the ordinary man to arrive at any definite conclusion on the question of culpability; and in all calculations account had to be taken of the vast accumulation of war stores, the value of which could be written up or down at the will of the disputant.

The year 1919 was an important one in British aeronautics. On June 14–15 Captain J. Alcock and Lieutenant Whitten Brown accomplished the first direct aeroplane flight across the Atlantic; the passage from Newfoundland to Clifden occupied 16 hours 12 minutes. And in October Captain Ross Smith and Lieutenant Keith Smith completed the first flight from London to Australia in 28 days. In November a regular air mail service was inaugurated from London to Paris, whilst in July a rigid airship (the R 34) traversed the Atlantic from Yorkshire to New York in 108 hours, and returned to Norfolk in 75.

But in all the disputes and turmoil that followed the war the devotion of the people to the Royal House remained unshaken. Every public appearance of the King, whether he was welcoming his victorious generals or the chief magistrates of the Allies, visiting an industrial district or reviewing his troops, was the occasion for a spontaneous outburst of loyalty. The visits of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States in 1919, to Australia in 1920 and to India in 1921–22, were followed with the closest interest, and his return on each occasion was a personal triumph. Amid all the unconstitutional measures advocated from time to time by extremists, the idea of a British republic never received serious consideration from any section, and more than one Sinn Fein leader, in arms against British rule, hinted that a royal prince would be an acceptable King of Ireland.

## XXXII

### THE PEACE CONFERENCE AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The history of the Peace Conference, and that of the inception and development of the League of Nations, should, apart from the immensity of the subjects, find a fitter place in a history of the modern world than in a volume dealing only with Great Britain. But since the attitude of Great Britain exercised an enormous, if not preponderating, influence in these matters, and her external policy since the war has been almost entirely dependent on them, an attempt must be made here to summarise very briefly their history and their effects upon the Empire up to date.

The Peace Conference began to sit in Paris at the beginning of 1919. Delegates from literally every country in the world (except those of our beaten enemies) flooded the French capital for many months. The chief British representatives were

Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Balfour, Mr. Bonar Law, Lord Milner and Mr. G. N. Barnes. President Wilson, full of his Fourteen Points, and somewhat against the will of his own country, represented the United States. The presidency of the Conference was accepted by M. Clémenceau. Other picturesque figures were M. Paderewski, better known as a pianist, who eloquently pleaded the cause of Poland, and M. Venizelos, the veteran Premier of Greece, who had suffered much for the Allied cause.

The Conference continued in being till January 1920, but even then half the treaties remained unsigned. The work was continued by a committee of Ambassadors, accompanied by many conferences of Prime Ministers to settle disputed points; and even when all the treaties were finally drafted and signed many difficult questions were left undetermined, leaving seeds that were likely to keep alive ill-feeling and hinder progress for many years to come.

The complicated nature of the issues can hardly excuse the long-protracted delay. The initial difficulty of transacting business in a Conference of thirty-two nations, speaking different languages, was solved by transferring the entire control to a Supreme Council of Ten, consisting of representatives of the five Great Powers; this in turn gave way to a Council of Four—M. Clémenceau, President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George and Signor Orlando (the Japanese representative waiving his right)—soon reduced to the "Big Three" by the retirement of the Italian delegates over the Fiume question. Each of these bodies was in turn known as the "Supreme Council." But the simplification of the machinery failed to increase the pace in arriving at the essential points.

The main subject for decision was the punishment to be inflicted upon Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. Expert advice, both documentary and personal, not only about Germany but about all the other countries concerned, was available in abundance; but the Supreme Council paid little attention to it, and for a long time seemed mainly concerned with abstract principles and with conscientious endeavours to make their present decisions square with rash promises made under pressure during the war and at the same time not conflict too flagrantly with the vague idealism of the Fourteen Points, the basis upon which Germany had originally agreed to treat. Only in April did the Conference seem to realise that the world was growing impatient, and that the suspense was leading to widespread disorders which would add endless difficulties to

their task. The German treaty was drafted at high pressure. By the end of May, in an atmosphere of crisis followed by compromise, and of dissensions half patched up, the conditions to be imposed, at all events on Germany, had been in the main agreed upon.

By the *Treaty of Versailles* (June 28), a document of portentous length, Germany surrendered Alsace-Lorraine to France, and Posen, with portions of West Prussia and Silesia, to Poland. The vexed question of the Saar basin, claimed by France, was settled by a compromise, France gaining possession of the valuable coal-mines, while the entire district was placed in charge of the League of Nations for fifteen years, when the inhabitants were to settle their own future by plébiscite. Further plébiscites were to be held in the portions of East Prussia and Silesia claimed by Poland, of Slesvig claimed by Denmark, and Eupen and Malmédy claimed by Belgium. Danzig, another bone of contention, was established as a free port (to which Poland was given access) under the control of the League of Nations, while Memel, a valuable seaport to either Lithuania or Poland, was placed at the disposal of the principal Powers.

Germany was stripped of all her overseas possessions. Her rights in the Shantung peninsula were transferred to Japan, in the face of strong protest from China. The remainder of her colonies were judged to be " inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world " (Art. 22 Covenant of the League of Nations) and were placed under the tutelage of Allied Powers as mandatories. The mandates were distributed as follows: to Great Britain, German East Africa and the Pacific Island of Nauru; to South Africa, German S.W. Africa; to Australia, German New Guinea, and to New Zealand German Samoa; to Japan the German islands in the North Pacific. Togo and the Cameroons were divided between France and Great Britain by mutual agreement.

The naval and military terms contained an absolute prohibition of a conscript Army, or an air force, or of submarines. The voluntary Army was to be reduced within two years to 100,000 officers and men, and the Navy to six battleships, six light cruisers and twenty-four smaller craft. Other clauses restricted rigidly German fortifications and munitions output.

The financial clauses had throughout the Conference caused the widest divergence of opinion among the Allied delegates, and in the actual Treaty the indemnity to be exacted from Germany was to a great extent left undetermined. While

Germany was forced by the Allies to accept responsibility for all the loss and damage caused to the Allies by the war, it was realised that she was not able to " make complete reparation for all such loss and damage." To what extent she would be able to recuperate was a matter of widely divergent surmises, and in the event the Treaty only dealt with what was described as a " first instalment." Germany was to pay twenty milliards of gold marks in cash and kind before May 1, 1921, with two further sums of forty milliards later. A Reparations Commission of Allied representatives was established to advise upon further payments ; and in January 1921 the Allies agreed to exact 100 milliards, payable with interest over forty years, and to supplement this by a tax on imports.

Germany was to pay all sums borrowed by Belgium from the Allies, to surrender the majority of her merchant-ships and build others to be divided among the Allies to make good their losses, to hand over all her submarine cables, to supply a stated annual consignment of coal to France, Belgium and Italy, to make good the damage done by her in the invaded areas and to pay the costs of the armies of occupation on the Rhine.

The formal ratification of the Treaty of Versailles was, for various reasons, delayed till January 10, 1920.

*Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye* (September 10, 1919).—The future of Austria-Hungary was virtually settled while the German treaty was under consideration, and the terms, as regards the new Austria, were presented to the Austrian delegates before the end of May and signed in September. The complementary treaty with Hungary was necessarily postponed till the new republic, oscillating between extreme Bolshevist and frankly monarchical views, had secured a reasonable Government, and was only signed at the *Trianon* on June 4, 1920. Further treaties were necessary with Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia and Romania, who had become heirs to portions of the old Habsburg Empire ; and Yugoslavia and Italy, the greatest gainers under the treaty, only composed an angry quarrel as to their division of the Adriatic coast in November 1920 by a mutual agreement signed at Rapallo, the seaport of Fiume being withheld from both and placed under international control. But the final terms remained, in general, as outlined at St. Germain.

Austria was left with a large city (Vienna) without seaboard, industrial district or mineral wealth to support it. Bohemia, Moravia and a part of Hungary became the new Czecho-Slovakia, with a capital at Prague. Romania received Tran-

sylvania and part of the Banat. The rest of the Banat, with Slavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, Hercegovina, Carniola and the greater part of Dalmatia, was formed into a Yugoslav nation which promptly threw in its lot with Serbia. Hungary, stripped of a considerable slice of indisputably Magyar territory to satisfy the claims of Romania and Czecho-Slovakia, became a species of republic, with a strong prohibition against any restoration of the monarchy without the consent of the Allied Powers. Italy secured what she had conquered—a northern frontier extending to the Brenner summits, and a long strip of the Adriatic sea-board, including Trieste and Pola.

The financial terms, which were framed on the same lines as those presented to Germany, were not actually so harsh as they appeared. Condemned to pay a "reasonable sum," Austria was soon discovered to be without resources and unable even to pay for the relief she received. The claims for an indemnity were promptly dropped. Arrangements were tardily made for the improvement of her finances, and, powerless for harm, she was soon admitted to the League of Nations. The size of her army was rigidly laid down; the Danube was placed under an international commission; and union with Germany was forbidden.

*Treaty of Sèvres* (August 10, 1920).—The Turkish settlement had been discussed at Paris, but it was not till the Conference of London assembled in February 1920 that any progress was made with drafting the clauses. It was hoped that the United States, which had refused to ratify the former treaties, would have returned to the International Council, and also that Russia might be in a position to take part. Both hopes were unhappily falsified, and it was only after many further discussions, chiefly as to the allocation of the conquered Turkish territories, that the treaty was completed.

Turkey retained Constantinople upon sufferance, on the understanding that it would be forfeited if she failed to observe the terms, but her European possessions were limited by the Chatalja lines. The Straits were placed under the control of an inter-allied commission. Greece, through the exertions of M. Venizelos, was richly compensated for her eleventh-hour adherence to the Allies. She received the whole of Thrace, outside the zone of the Straits, with islands in the North Ægean; and while Smyrna remained under Turkish sovereignty, this sovereignty was to be exercised by Greece, with control over a considerable adjoining area. The Hejaz and Armenia were recognised as free and independent states; Syria, Palestine

and Mesopotamia, while their independence was established, were placed under mandatory Powers. A conference held at San Remo in April gave the mandate for Syria, Cilicia and the Lebanon to France, and for Palestine and Mesopotamia to Great Britain. Italy was awarded Rhodes, the Dodecanese and other islands off the southern coast of Asia Minor, and a sphere of influence on the mainland. The mandate for the Straits and for Armenia was refused in turn by the League of Nations and the United States.

The demand for the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres came quickly, for within a year after its conclusion the whole circumstances of the case were greatly altered. The long delay had given the forces of reaction time to organise. The extreme Nationalist Party in Turkey established a strong rebel Government in Angora under Mustafa Kemal Pasha, with the result that the Government at Constantinople, which ratified the Treaty,[1] only represented some 15 per cent. of the new Turkish subjects; and in Greece the death of the boy-King led to the triumphant return of the discredited ex-King Constantine and the downfall of M. Venizelos and the pro-Ally Party.

Before dismissing the subject of the Peace Conference it is necessary to describe in a few words the League of Nations, upon which many onerous duties have been laid by the treaties in addition to the wide functions it is designed to exercise in normal times. The League, the covenant of which was included in each treaty, is controlled by a Council consisting of representatives of the Five Great Powers, with representatives of four other members, and an Assembly embracing representatives of all other members of the League. In practice the main power rests with the Council. Its objects are (1) the maintenance of peace; (2) the solution of international disputes by law, or, where no law exists, by conciliation based on impartial investigation; (3) promotion of international co-operation for the common good. It is intended, in fact, to provide in the life of nations themselves something analogous to the systems of law and justice established by civilised states within their own borders. Every nation subscribing to the League undertook to submit all cases of dispute to arbitration and not to proceed to hostilities till three months had elapsed after the award; not to enter into any treaties inconsistent with the purpose of the League and to register all treaties with the League; and to join in enforcing the decisions of the League upon any recalcitrant member.

[1] It was never ratified by the Allied Powers.

Other subjects coming within the sphere of the League were the reduction of armaments, the protection of religious and racial minorities, the extension of fair and humane conditions of labour, and the care of backward peoples, who were to be guided and administered by members of the League as mandatories.

A large secretariat, containing representatives of twenty different nations, was established at Geneva, with a British diplomat, Sir Eric Drummond, as its first Secretary-General; and an International Court of Justice, the personnel of which won general respect, was constituted soon after.

To what extent the resources of the League will permit it to carry out its widespread duties cannot yet be decided. But already sufficient has been accomplished to justify its existence in a more restricted field. It intervened in the dispute about the Åland Islands between Sweden and Finland, in that about Vilna between Poland and Lithuania, and in the vexed question of the Albanian frontier, and in each case war was averted. It delimited a hotly disputed frontier in Silesia, and it drew up a successful scheme for the financing of Austria. Its commissions for the repatriation of prisoners of war and for combating the plague of typhus are typical of necessary services that can be better rendered by an international body of this type; and its control of the successive Conferences on Transit, on Finance, on the White Slave Traffic and the Opium Traffic ensures a certain continuity of effort too often lacking in previous international meetings, and provides a permanent body to watch that the resolutions passed are conscientiously carried out.

## XXXIII

### THE AFTERMATH

### (1921–1922)

The main objection to the whole settlement was its lack of finality. Till the middle of 1921 successive plébiscites embittered national feelings in one part of Europe after another, and the treaties contemplated further plébiscites for Smyrna and for the Saar Valley in five and in fifteen years respectively. The financial and commercial terms seemed destined to perpetuate rancour among enemies and strife among allies well into the next generation. Yet every day it became more clear

that till Europe was peacefully settled no individual nation could even begin to make good the wastage of the war and to rebuild her prosperity on any sure foundation.

With the refusal of the United States to ratify the treaties or to join the League of Nations, and the temporary retirement of Italy from the international Councils owing to the disallowal of her extravagant claims in the Adriatic Littoral and in Asia Minor, the rôle of Great Britain became increasingly difficult and delicate. She was left alone with France to enforce the settlement, and it was not always easy for her to keep in step with her impetuous partner.

In the complicated question of German reparations there was a fruitful field for differences. France, remembering her humiliation at the hands of Germany in 1871 and the ruin of her richest provinces during the Great War, had always been determined to wring the uttermost farthing from her beaten foe. It was her ambition to keep Germany for ever powerless and poor. Germany for her part, so long as her debt remained indefinite and its amount depended upon her capacity to pay, had no incentive to improve her financial position, and by a reckless issue of paper money placed new difficulties in the way of an agreement. Great Britain throughout was on the side of moderation and an early settlement, realising that by asking too much the Allies risked losing all, and that the general financial chaos could never end until the mark attained some degree of stability. Up to the end of 1922 Germany was still far behindhand with her stipulated payments, but no acceptable agreement had yet been reached as to the best method of meeting the situation.[1]

The task of fixing boundaries between Germany and Poland in Upper Silesia again caused friction between the two Powers, France wishing to take from Germany more territory than appeared equitable to Great Britain, and the trouble was only ended by a British appeal to the League of Nations for arbitration. A little later the discovery of independent action by France in Asia Minor, carefully concealed from her ally, led once more to strained relations. Yet British tact and forbearance upon each occasion averted a crisis. Her statesmen not only felt the strongest sympathy with France for her sufferings in the war, but also realised that a rupture between the two Powers meant the end of all hope of enforcing the peace settlements.

But though Great Britain had no open sores to exhibit like

[1] The French occupation of the Ruhr took place in the beginning of 1923.

France's devastated regions, she had sustained internal wounds more serious than outsiders were apt to recognise. Apart from the loss of her young manhood and her own vast expenses in the war, she had borrowed enormous sums from the United States to finance her Allies, and was trying desperately to repay her creditors while she received nothing from her debtors. The destitution of her former customers, coupled with high prices, had ruined her trade, and the severe distress caused by unemployment had to be relieved from the National Exchequer. From the League of Nations she had received mandates more expensive than those imposed upon any other Power, and the honest fulfilment of her task in Mesopotamia, if she were to give the new Arab Power a fair start as an independent nation, entailed a large annual expenditure during the period of tutelage. Taxation rose to a height that rendered impossible the growth of new industries and caused dire forebodings among economists.

In India there was trouble in various places. Most widespread was the movement led by the mystic Gandhi, who urged his fellow-countrymen to boycott all British goods and institutions; but the agitation collapsed as quickly as it had risen and the eventual arrest of Gandhi aroused little excitement. Though Gandhi consistently preached pacific methods, his example of defiance to the Government was largely responsible for a sanguinary rising of the unruly Moplah tribe of Malabar, in which the chief sufferers were the Hindus.

In Egypt where the grant of independence—free or controlled—to various Arab states had added strength to the extreme Nationalist movement, there was sporadic disorder. A British mission under Lord Milner visited Egypt (1919–20) and an Egyptian mission under Adly Pasha came to London (1921) without solving the difficult question of how to satisfy the national aspirations of the Egyptians without leaving a much-coveted country at the mercy of the first invader. But a new scheme, adopted by the Government in March 1922 on the advice of Lord Allenby, whereby the Sultan became King of Egypt and the country received a liberal measure of autonomy, has already had beneficial results.

The state of Ireland continued to cause much anxiety, but, in spite of continual set-backs, steady progress was made towards peace. After protracted negotiations, which continually threatened to break down, Irish delegates on December 6, 1921 accepted the treaty proposed by the British Government. Briefly, Southern Ireland was offered a status and a constitution similar to that of Canada, with considerable

financial control and the non-provocative title of the "Irish Free State"; in return, members of the new Irish Parliament were to take an oath of allegiance to the British Crown and dismiss all idea of a republic. The offer, made to rebels in arms against their sovereign, was a generous one, but it was only by a small majority (64 to 57) that the Sinn Fein rulers signified their assent. The ensuing elections, held throughout Southern Ireland in May 1922, showed the feeling of the country; 62 members were returned in favour of the Treaty and only 36 against, with 17 Labour members and 13 Independents. But the revelation of the smallness of their numbers only increased the violence of the extreme republicans. Already there had been fighting in Dublin and the south, and an invasion of Ulster had been repulsed by British troops. A week after the elections the murder, in London, of Field-Marshal Sir Henry Wilson, M.P., who had been advising the Ulster Government on defence, roused public opinion, and a strong note, sent to the Irish Provisional Government, led to sterner measures against the recalcitrants. The Four Courts—a stronghold seized by the republicans in the heart of Dublin—was stormed, and the armed bands in the south and west defeated and dispersed. Outrages still continued on a smaller scale—midnight assassinations and wrecking of railways and property; in August Michael Collins, commander of the Free State forces, was ambushed and killed in County Cork. But the Free State Government showed a determined front, inflicted the death penalty on a number of men found carrying arms and gave general evidence of their good faith in stamping out disorder. Before the end of the year 1922 the last of the British garrison had left Ireland.

Two important international Conferences, held respectively at Washington and Genoa, must be briefly noticed. The former, concluded in February 1922, was not only notable for the re-entry of the United States into world-politics, but had important results. A quadruple agreement between Great Britain, the United States, France and Japan, which provided a basis for the peaceful solution of all Pacific problems, replaced the old Anglo-Japanese Treaty; and a genuine attempt was also made to limit armaments. The Genoa Conference in the following summer, which dealt mainly with financial questions, proved abortive, and was chiefly remarkable for the dramatic disclosure of a secret trading-treaty between Germany and Soviet Russia.

Meanwhile events in the Near East had already begun to

justify the prophecies of the critics of the Treaty of Sèvres. The Royalist forces of the reinstated King Constantine, flushed with the success of initial victories near Smyrna, had passed far beyond the limits laid down by the treaty and had come to a standstill in an untenable position in the mountainous interior. The Allies more than once intervened in vain. At first the Greeks refused to listen to reason; later on the refusal was on the side of the Nationalist leader Mustafa Kemal, who found his position greatly strengthened by two circumstances. The collapse of the semi-independent republics of the Caucasus, owing to the lack of a protecting Power, had enabled him to open communications with Russia, whose Bolshevist rulers were always ready to back a disturbing element; and the conclusion of a secret treaty with France, carried out by that nation in defiance of her pledges to the League of Nations, had suggested to him that it was still possible to play off one Ally against another in the traditional Turkish fashion. In September 1922 the Nationalists attacked with astonishing success. The Greek troops, badly commanded and weary of service, broke and fled; and the Nationalist troops were masters of Asia Minor. The neutral ground on the Asiatic side of the Straits had been occupied by Allied troops, but France and Italy at once withdrew their contingents. Britain, realising the danger of allowing the victorious Nationalists to enter Europe, alone stood firm and rushed strong reinforcements to the spot. The situation was saved; an armistice was arranged at Mudania, followed by a Peace Conference at Lausanne that continued in session till the close of the year.

During this crisis important political changes took place at home, leading to the resignation of Mr. Lloyd George and the break-up of the Coalition. Though the end came suddenly, its causes had long been visible. The Coalition had come into being as a necessity under war conditions. In December 1918 these conditions still, to a great extent, remained, and it was obviously better that the Peace Treaties should not be brought forward as party measures. But in 1922, with a new election impending, the situation was different. The Coalition Party in the House of Commons contained 334 Unionists and 133 Liberals; the Prime Minister was drawn from the minority, and he was a Prime Minister more than usually ready to act upon his own initiative without consulting his colleagues. While there were, as a rule, no serious differences in the main questions of policy, Mr. Lloyd George's masterful methods had continually met with criticism, and the reckless way in

which, by his patronage of the Greek cause, he had apparently brought Great Britain to the verge of war over the Eastern question, coupled with his rhetorical speeches and appeals to the gallery, had given rise to serious alarm in many quarters. The unexpected victory of an out-and-out Conservative in a by-election, and the adherence of Mr. Bonar Law to the party of disruption, were the final causes which precipitated the decision. In October the Conservative members passed a resolution to the effect that, while willing to co-operate with the Coalition Liberals, they should fight the election as an independent party with their own leader and programme.

Mr. Lloyd George at once resigned and Mr. Bonar Law formed a new Government. At the ensuing elections, held in November, the Conservatives, with 344 members, had a clear majority over all parties. Labour, which had benefited much by fratricidal contests between different brands of Liberals and Unionists, increased its representation to 138. Mr. Lloyd George's National Liberals held 57 seats and Mr. Asquith's Independent Liberals 60. Of the 33 women candidates who went to the poll, only two were elected, both of whom had sat in the previous Parliament.

The new Ministry was safe rather than brilliant, and entered upon its task with the declared aims of peace in Europe and economy and the improvement of trade at home.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

B.C.

55. Landing of Julius Cæsar.

A.D.

43. Roman invasion.
410. Departure of Romans.
450 etc. Anglo-Saxon invasions; King Arthur (?).
563. St. Columba lands.
597. St. Augustine lands.
757–96. Offa of Mercia.
793. Danish raids begin.
844. Union of Picts and Scots.
871–901. Alfred the Great.
878. Treaty of Wedmore.
910–26. Reconquest of Danelaw.
979–1016. Ethelred the Unready.
1016–35. Canute the Dane.
1040–66. Edward the Confessor; favours the Normans.
1066. Harold, son of Godwin of Wessex, King; Battle of Hastings (Oct. 14); Harold slain; accession of William I.
1067–71. Rebellions in England.
1074–78. Rebellions of the Norman barons.
1087. Death of William I; accession of William II.
1088. Rebellion of the Norman barons.
1093. Death of Malcolm III of Scotland; civil war in Scotland.
1097–1107. Edgar of Scotland.
1100–35. Henry I.
1101. Invasion by Robert of Normandy.
1106. Victory of Henry I at Tenchebrai; annexation of the Duchy of Normandy.
1107. Compromise on Investitures in England; death of Edgar of Scotland and accession of Alexander I.
1109–28. Wars by Henry I in France and Normandy.
1124–53. David I of Scotland.
1135–54. Stephen.
1139–53. Civil war in England.

A.D.

1153–65. Malcolm IV of Scotland.
1154–89. Henry II.
1164. Constitutions of Clarendon.
1165. Death of Malcolm IV of Scotland; accession of William the Lion.
1169. Expedition by Strongbow to Ireland.
1170. Murder of Archbishop à Becket.
1171. Expedition of Henry II to Ireland.
1173–74. Last great rebellion of the Norman barons in England.
1174. Capture of William the Lion of Scotland; Treaty of Falaise.
1188. Rebellion of the sons of Henry II.
1189–99. Richard I; Treaty of Falaise annulled.
1190–92. Richard I on the Third Crusade.
1192. Imprisonment of Richard I by the Duke of Austria.
1194. Return of Richard to England.
1199–1216. John.
1203. Murder of Arthur of Brittany.
1204. Loss of Normandy.
1207. Papal Interdict in England.
1213. John's submission to the Papacy.
1214. Death of William the Lion of Scotland; accession of Alexander II.
1215. Magna Carta.
1216–72. Henry III.
1249–86. Alexander III of Scotland.
1258. Rebellion in England: the "Provisions of Oxford."
1264. Battle of Lewes.
1265. Parliament of Simon de Montfort; Battle of Evesham and death of de Montfort.
1272–1307. Edward I.
1282–84. Conquest of Wales.
1286. Death of Alexander III of Scotland; accession of the "Maid of Norway."

A.D.

1290. Expulsion of the Jews from England; treaty for the marriage of the Maid of Norway to Edward, Prince of Wales; death of the Maid of Norway.
1292. Claim by Edward I to the Overlordship of Scotland and decision in favour of John Balliol.
1295. Rebellion of John Balliol and beginning of the Franco-Scottish League.
1296. English invasion of Scotland and deposition of John Balliol.
1297. Victory of Sir William Wallace at Stirling Bridge.
1298. Defeat of Wallace at Falkirk.
1305. Capture and execution of Wallace.
1306. Murder of John Comyn by Robert Bruce; accession of Robert I of Scotland; defeat of Robert I at Methuen.
1307. Victory of Robert I at Loudoun Hill; death of Edward I; accession of Edward II.
1311. The Lords Ordainers.
1314. Victory of Robert I at Bannockburn.
1322. Defeat of the Lords Ordainers.
1327. Deposition and murder of Edward II; accession of Edward III.
1328. Scottish independence acknowledged by the Treaty of Northampton.
1329–71. David II of Scotland.
1332. English invasion of Scotland; defeat of the Scots at Dupplin.
1333. Scottish defeat at Halidon Hill.
1337. Claim to the French Crown of Edward III.
1340. English naval victory at Sluys.
1346. English victories at Crécy and Neville's Cross.
1347. English capture of Calais.
1348. Outbreak of the Black Death.
1351. Statute of Labourers.
1356. English victory at Poitiers.
1360. Treaty of Bretigny.
1367. Revival of the Anglo-French war.
1371–90. Robert II of Scotland.
1372. English naval defeat off La Rochelle.
1377–99. Richard II.
1381. The Peasants' Revolt.
1387. The Lords Appellants.
1390–1406. Robert III of Scotland.

A.D.

1399. Deposition of Richard II; accession of Henry IV.
1400. Rebellion in Wales.
1403. Battle of Shrewsbury.
1406–37. James I of Scotland.
1413–22. Henry V.
1415. Invasion of France and English victory at Agincourt.
1417–19. Campaigns of Henry V in France.
1420. Treaty of Troyes.
1421. Franco-Scottish victory at Beaugé.
1422–61. Henry VI.
1429–31. Revival of French resistance under Jeanne d'Arc.
1436. Loss of Paris by the English.
1437. Murder of James I of Scotland; accession of James II.
1450. The English driven out of Normandy; rebellion of Jack Cade.
1452. Murder of the Earl of Douglas by James II.
1453. End of the Hundred Years' War; capture of Constantinople by the Turks; birth of Edward, Prince of Wales.
1455. First Battle of St. Albans.
1460. Battles of Northampton and Wakefield; death of James II of Scotland; accession of James III.
1461. Second Battle of St. Albans and Battle of Towton; deposition of Henry VI; accession of Edward IV.
1470. Invasion of Warwick and restoration of Henry VI.
1471. Invasion and restoration of Edward IV: Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury.
1476. Caxton sets up a printing press at Westminster.
1483. Death of Edward IV; accession of Edward V; murder of Edward V; accession of Richard III.
1485. Battle of Bosworth; death of Richard III and accession of Henry VII.
1487. Rebellion of Lambert Simnel.
1488. Battle of Sauchieburn and death of James III of Scotland; accession of James IV.
1492. Discovery of America by Columbus.
1495. Rebellion of Perkin Warbeck.
1501. Marriage of Arthur, Prince of

A.D.

Wales, to Catharine of Aragon.
1502. Death of Arthur, Prince of Wales.
1503. Marriage of the Princess Margaret to James IV of Scotland.
1509–47. Henry VIII.
1511. The "Holy League" against France.
1513. Battle of Flodden and death of James IV of Scotland; accession of James V.
1518. Beginning of the Lutheran Reformation in Germany.
1520. Field of the Cloth of Gold.
1522. War between England and France.
1529. Fall of Wolsey.
1529–36. The "Reformation Parliament."
1534. First Act of Supremacy over the Church.
1535. Execution of More and Fisher.
1536. Dissolution of the smaller monasteries.
1537–40. Dissolution of the greater monasteries.
1539. Statute of Proclamations.
1540. Execution of Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.
1541. Henry VIII takes the title of King of Ireland.
1542. Battle of Solway Moss; death of James V of Scotland; accession of Mary Stewart (7 days old).
1543. Marriage treaty between England and Scotland.
1544. Capture of Boulogne.
1544–45. English invasions of Scotland.
1547–53. Edward VI; Protectorate of Somerset; Battle of Pinkie.
1549. Act of Uniformity and First Prayer Book of Edward VI; Kett's rebellion; Protectorate of Duke of Northumberland.
1552. Act of Uniformity and Second Prayer Book of Edward VI.
1553–58. Mary; rebellion of Lady Jane Grey.
1554. Wyatt's rebellion; marriage of Mary to Philip II of Spain.
1556. Martyrdom of Cranmer.
1558. Capture of Calais by the French; death of Mary; accession of Elizabeth.
1559. Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity; Protestant rebellion in Scotland.

A.D.

1560. The Scottish Reformation.
1562–67. Voyages of Sir John Hawkins to the West Indies.
1567. Murder of Darnley; deposition of Mary, Queen of Scots; accession of James VI.
1568. Flight of Mary, Queen of Scots, to England.
1572. Ridolfi's conspiracy against Elizabeth.
1577. Drake's voyage round the world.
1583. Throckmorton's conspiracy against Elizabeth.
1585. Attempted colonisation of Virginia.
1586. Babington's conspiracy against Elizabeth.
1587. Execution of Mary, Queen of Scots.
1588. The Spanish Armada.
1595–1603. Rebellion in Ireland.
1596. Sack of Cadiz.
1601. First English Poor Law.
1603. Death of Elizabeth; accession of James VI and I; the Millenary Petition.
1604. Peace with Spain; Hampton Court Conference.
1605. Gunpowder Plot.
1609. Colonisation of Virginia.
1611. Plantation of Ulster.
1617. Spanish marriage project.
1618. Execution of Sir Walter Raleigh; outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in Germany.
1620. Voyage of the *Mayflower*.
1621. Impeachment of Bacon.
1623. Visit of Prince Charles and Buckingham to Madrid.
1625. Death of James VI and I; accession of Charles I; failure of expedition to Cadiz.
1627–8. Failure of expeditions to La Rochelle.
1628. Murder of Buckingham; Petition of Right.
1629–40. Period of personal government of Charles I.
1634–35. Issue of writs of ship-money.
1637. Case of John Hampden; riot in Edinburgh over a new Prayer Book.
1638. Scottish National Covenant; abolition of Episcopacy by the General Assembly.
1639. First Bishops' War.

A.D.

1640. The Short Parliament; second Bishops' War; the Long Parliament.
1641. Execution of Strafford; visit of Charles I to Scotland; the Irish Rebellion; the Grand Remonstrance.
1642. Attempted arrest of the Five Members; outbreak of the Civil War: Battle of Edgehill.
1643. The Solemn League and Covenant.
1644. Battle of Marston Moor.
1645. Execution of Archbishop Laud; victory of the New Model Army at Naseby; defeat of Montrose at Philiphaugh.
1646. Surrender of Charles I to the Scots, and his transference to the Parliament.
1647. Seizure of the King's person by the Army.
1648. Battle of Preston; Pride's Purge.
1649. Execution of Charles I; Cromwell's campaign in Ireland.
1650. Battle of Dunbar.
1651. Battle of Worcester; the Navigation Act.
1652. Union of England and Scotland negotiated; first Dutch War.
1653. Expulsion of the "Rump" Parliament by Cromwell.
1654. Establishment of the Protectorate; Union of England, Scotland and Ireland; war with Spain; peace with Holland.
1655. Capture of Jamaica.
1658. Capture of Dunkirk; death of Oliver Cromwell; Protectorate of Richard Cromwell
1659. Resignation of Richard Cromwell; recall of the "Rump" Parliament.
1660. Recall of the expelled members of the Long Parliament; Declaration of Breda; the Convention Parliament; restoration of Charles II.
1661. The Cavalier Parliament; restoration of Episcopacy in Scotland.
1661–67. Administration of Clarendon.
1662. Acquisition of Bombay.
1665. Second Dutch War; the Great Plague.
1666. Great Fire of London; Covenanting Rising in Scotland.

A.D.

1667–73. The Cabal Ministry.
1667. The Dutch in the Medway: peace with Holland.
1670. Secret Treaty of Dover (between Charles II and Louis XIV).
1672. Declaration of Indulgence; third Dutch War.
1673. The Test Act.
1673–79. Ministry of Danby.
1674. Peace with Holland.
1678. The "Popish Plot."
1679. Dissolution of the Cavalier Parliament; Ministry of Shaftesbury; Covenanting Rising in Scotland.
1680. The Exclusion Bill passed by the Commons.
1681–85. Personal rule of Charles II.
1683. The Rye House Plot.
1685. Death of Charles II; accession of James II and VII; rebellion of Monmouth.
1687. Declaration of Indulgence; expulsion of the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford.
1688. Trial of the Seven Bishops; birth of James, Prince of Wales; invasion of William of Orange; flight of James.
1689. Accession of William and Mary; Mutiny and Toleration Acts; war with France; siege of Londonderry; Battle of Killiecrankie.
1690. Naval defeat off Beachy Head; Battle of the Boyne; restoration of Presbytery in Scotland.
1692. Naval victory off La Hogue; Massacre of Glencoe.
1694. Death of Queen Mary; foundation of the Bank of England.
1697. Treaty of Ryswick.
1698. First Partition Treaty for the Spanish dominions.
1700. Second Partition Treaty; death of Charles II of Spain and acceptance of his will by Louis XIV.
1701. Death of James II and acknowledgment of "James III and VIII" by Louis XIV; Act of Settlement; formation of the Grand Alliance.
1702. Death of King William; accession of Anne; outbreak of the War of the Spanish Succession.

A.D.
1704. Battle of Blenheim; capture of Gibraltar.
1706. Battle of Ramillies.
1707. Union of the kingdoms of England and Scotland.
1708. Battle of Oudenarde.
1709. Battle of Malplaquet.
1710. Administration of Harley and St. John; creation of peers in order to carry peace with France.
1713. Treaty of Utrecht.
1714–27. George I.
1715. Jacobite rising defeated at Sheriffmuir and Preston.
1717. Triple Alliance of Great Britain, France and Holland.
1720. The South Sea Bubble.
1721–42. Ministry of Walpole.
1726–27. Siege of Gibraltar.
1727–60. George II.
1733. Walpole forced to withdraw his Excise Bill; first Family Compact between France and Spain.
1739. War with Spain.
1740. Outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession.
1742. Ministry of Wilmington and Carteret.
1743. British victory at Dettingen; second Family Compact between France and Spain.
1744. Ministry of Pelham.
1745. British defeat at Fontenoy; capture of Louisburg; invasion of Scotland by Prince Charles Edward: Jacobite victory at Prestonpans and march to Derby.
1746. Jacobite defeat at Culloden; capture of Madras by the French.
1748. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1754. Ministry of Newcastle.
1756. Alliance of Great Britain and Prussia; alliance of France and Austria; outbreak of the Seven Years' War; capture of Minorca by the French; Black Hole of Calcutta; Ministry of Pitt and Devonshire.
1757. Ministry of Pitt and Newcastle; Battle of Plassey.
1758. Capture of Cape Breton.
1759. Capture of Quebec.
1760. Capture of Montreal; Battle of Wandiwash; accession of George III (d. 1820).

A.D.
1761. Third Family Compact between France and Spain; Ministry of Bute.
1762. War with Spain.
1763. Treaty of Paris; Ministry of Grenville.
1765. Stamp Act passed; first Ministry of Rockingham.
1766. Stamp Act repealed and Declaratory Act passed; Ministry of Chatham.
1767. American Import Duties Act.
1768. First voyage of Captain Cook; Ministry of Grafton.
1770. Ministry of North; repeal of American Import Duties except the duty on tea.
1772. Second voyage of Captain Cook.
1773. The "Boston Tea-party."
1774. The "Intolerable Acts"; the Quebec Act; meeting of first American Congress.
1775. Outbreak of war in America: Battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill.
1776. Declaration of American Independence; third voyage of Captain Cook.
1777. Surrender of Saratoga.
1778. Outbreak of war with France.
1779. Outbreak of war with Spain.
1780. Victory off Cape St. Vincent; outbreak of war with Holland.
1781. Surrender of Yorktown.
1782. Second Ministry of Rockingham; Ministry of Shelburne; Battle of the Saints; Grattan's Parliament; acknowledgment of American Independence.
1783. Treaty of Versailles; Coalition Ministry of Fox and North; first Ministry of William Pitt.
1785. Bill for Parliamentary reform introduced by Pitt.
1786. Commercial treaty with France.
1787. First convict settlement in New South Wales.
1788. Alliance between Great Britain and Holland; trial of Warren Hastings.
1789. The French Revolution.
1792. French conquest of Belgium.
1793. Declaration of war by France; formation of the First Coalition; failure of British campaign in the Netherlands.
1794. British naval victory in the Battle of the First of June.

A.D.

1795. Treaties between France and Prussia.
1796. Outbreak of war with Spain.
1797. Victory off Cape St. Vincent; naval mutinies; naval victory in Battle of Camperdown.
1798. Napoleon's invasion of Egypt; Nelson's victory in the Battle of the Nile; Irish Rebellion.
1799. Formation of the Second Coalition; failure of British campaign in Holland.
1800. Union of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland; Armed Neutrality of the North.
1801. Battle of Copenhagen; Ministry of Addington; Battle of Alexandria.
1802. Treaty of Amiens.
1803. Renewal of war with France.
1804. Second Ministry of William Pitt; war with Spain.
1805. Formation of the third Coalition; Battle of Trafalgar; Battles of Ulm and Austerlitz.
1806. Death of Pitt; Ministry of Grenville and Fox; capture of the Cape of Good Hope; death of Fox; the Berlin Decrees.
1807. The Orders in Council and the Milan Decree; Ministry of Portland; Treaty of Tilsit between France and Russia; expedition to the Dardanelles; seizure of the Danish fleet.
1808. French invasion of the Spanish Peninsula; British expedition to Portugal; Convention of Cintra.
1809. Battles of Corunna and Talavera; Walcheren expedition; Ministry of Perceval.
1810–20. Regency of the Prince of Wales.
1812. Ministry of Liverpool (1812–27); war with the United States; Wellington's victory at Salamanca; Napoleon's Moscow campaign.
1813. Formation of the Fourth Coalition; Wellington's victories at Vittoria and the Pyrenees; defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig.
1814. First abdication of Napoleon; first Treaty of Paris; Congress of Vienna; end of war with the United States (Treaty of Ghent).

A.D.

1815. Escape of Napoleon from Elba; formation of the Fifth Coalition; Battle of Waterloo; second abdication of Napoleon; second Treaty of Paris.
1817. Death of Princess Charlotte of Wales.
1819. "Peterloo Massacre."
1820–30. George IV.
1821. Death of Queen Caroline.
1823. First Burmese War.
1824. Repeal of the Combination Acts.
1825. Railway opened from Stockton to Darlington.
1827. Ministry of Canning; Battle of Navarino; Ministry of Goderich.
1828. Ministry of Wellington; repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.
1829. Catholic Emancipation Act.
1830. Accession of William IV (d. 1837); Ministry of Lord Grey.
1831. Reform Bill passed in the Commons by a majority of one; General Election results in a majority for reform; Reform Bill rejected by the Lords.
1832. First Reform Act passed.
1833. Act for the Emancipation of Slaves; Factory Act for child-workers; Municipal Reform Act (Scotland).
1834. Poor Law Act (England); first Ministry of Lord Melbourne; first Ministry of Peel.
1835. Second Ministry of Melbourne; Municipal Reform Act (England).
1837. Accession of Queen Victoria (d. 1901); Rebellion in Canada.
1838. Beginning of Chartist agitation; Poor Law Act (Ireland); Tithe Commutation Act (Ireland).
1838–42. First Afghan War.
1839. Lord Durham's Report on Canada; establishment of penny postage.
1840. Canadian Act of Union.
1841. Second Peel Ministry.
1842. Free Trade Budget.
1843. Annexation of Sindh; disruption of the Church of Scotland.
1845. Maynooth Grant; Poor Law Act (Scotland); Irish Famine

A.D.

(1845–49); first Sikh War (1845–46).
1846. Repeal of the Corn Laws; first Ministry of Lord John Russell.
1848. Chartist Rising; Irish Rebellion; second Sikh War.
1849. Annexation of the Punjab.
1851. Discovery of gold in Australia.
1852. First Ministry of Lord Derby; Ministry of Lord Aberdeen; second Burmese War.
1852–73. Livingstone's journeys in Central Africa.
1854–56. Crimean War.
1855. First Ministry of Lord Palmerston.
1857–58. The Indian Mutiny.
1858. Second Ministry of Derby; assumption of the government of India by the Crown; admission of Jews to Parliament; the Fenian Association.
1859. The Volunteer Movement; second Ministry of Palmerston.
1861. American Civil War (1861–65); the *Trent* case; establishment of the kingdom of Italy.
1862. The *Alabama* case.
1865. Second Ministry of Russell.
1866. Third Ministry of Derby.
1867. Second Reform Act (England).
1868. Second Reform Act (Scotland); first Ministry of Disraeli; first Ministry of Gladstone; Abyssinian War.
1869. Disestablishment of the Church of Ireland.
1870. First Irish Land Act; Elementary Education Act (England).
1871. Trades Unions Act; Establishment of the German Empire.
1872. The Ballot Act; Elementary Education Act (Scotland).
1874. Second Ministry of Disraeli (Beaconsfield).
1876. The Bulgarian Massacres.
1877. Queen Victoria becomes Empress of India; annexation of the Transvaal.
1878. Congress and Treaty of Berlin; second Afghan War (1878–80); Zulu War (1878–79).
1879. The Irish Land League.
1880. Second Ministry of Gladstone.
1881. Second Irish Land Act; recognition of the independence of the Transvaal under British suzerainty.

A.D.

1882. The Phœnix Park murders; expedition to Egypt.
1883. Establishment of British control in Egypt.
1883–85. Loss of the Sudan and death of General Gordon.
1884–85. Third Reform Act.
1885. First Ministry of Lord Salisbury; third Burmese War; discovery of gold in the Transvaal.
1886. Third Ministry of Gladstone; defeat of the Home Rule Bill; second Ministry of Salisbury.
1887. First Jubilee of Queen Victoria.
1888. County Councils Act (England).
1889. County Councils Act (Scotland).
1890. Cession of Heligoland to Germany.
1891. Elementary education made free.
1892. Fourth Ministry of Gladstone.
1893. Home Rule Bill rejected by the Lords.
1894. Ministry of Lord Rosebery; Parish Councils Act.
1895. Third Ministry of Salisbury.
1896. The Jameson Raid.
1897. "Diamond" Jubilee of Queen Victoria.
1898. Battle of Omdurman and reconquest of the Sudan.
1899. Outbreak of the South African War.
1900. Relief of Ladysmith; annexation of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State; Australian Commonwealth Act.
1900–2. Guerrilla warfare in South Africa.
1901. Death of Queen Victoria; accession of Edward VII.
1902. Ministry of Mr. Balfour; Education Act (England); alliance between Great Britain and Japan.
1904. Entente Cordiale with France.
1905. Ministry of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman; first Morocco Crisis; Treaty of Björkö.
1906. Trades Disputes Act; grant of responsible government to the Transvaal.
1907. Grant of responsible government to the Orange Free State.
1908. Eight-Hour Act for coal-mines; Ministry of Mr. Asquith; introduction of Old Age Pensions; Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

A.D.

1909. Rejection of the Budget by the House of Lords.

1910. Death of Edward VII; accession of George V; Constitutional Conference.

1911. The Parliament Act; introduction of a system of National Insurance; second Morocco Crisis.

1912. Home Rule Bill passed for the first time by the Commons under the Parliament Act.

1912–13. Wars in the Balkans.

1914. The Ulster Crisis; passing of the Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment Acts; war declared on Germany (Aug. 4); Mons, Marne, Aisne and Flanders campaigns.

1915. Operations in Dardanelles, Macedonia, Mesopotamia, East Africa, etc.; attacks in Artois, etc.; compulsory service adopted.

1916. Irish Rebellion; Battle of Jutland; Lord Kitchener drowned; Battle of the Somme; Mr. Lloyd George succeeds Mr. Asquith (Dec.).

A.D.

1917. Submarine action by Germany; heavy operations in Flanders; capture of Jerusalem.

1918. Great German offensive (spring); Germans pressed back on Marne (July), at Amiens (Aug.), and on the whole Western Front (Sept. to Nov.); victories in Macedonia, Palestine and Mesopotamia; Armistice (Nov. 11); Coalition Government returned (Dec.).

1919. Peace Conference at Versailles; demobilisation; Treaty signed (June 28); industrial and Indian troubles.

1920. More industrial, commercial and financial troubles; India and Ireland restless.

1921. Civil war in Ireland; great trade depression; treaty with "Irish Free State" (Dec. 6).

1922. Washington Conference Treaties; Genoa; troubles with Turkey; Conservative Government replaces Coalition (Nov.).

BRITISH ISLES
Natural Scale 1:5,070,000
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
IRISH SEA
BRISTOL CHANNEL
Shetland Islands
Orkney
Pomona or Mainland
Hoy
Stroma
Sula
Stack
Barra Hd
St Kilda
Lewis
Harris
N. Uist
Benbecula
S. Uist
Barra
Skye
Raasay
Rona
Mull
Tiree
Coll
Colonsay
Islay
Jura
Scarba
Gigha
Arran
Ailsa Craig
Kintyre
Sanda
Rathlin
Ireland
Donegal
Tory I.
Inishtrahull
Inishowen Hd
Malin Hd
Fair I.
Sumburgh Hd
Yell
Unst
Out Skerries
Whalsay
Mainland
Foula
Papa Stour
Fetlar
Muckle Flugga
Dunnet Hd
Duncansby Hd
John o' Groats
Cape Wrath
Stoer Hd
Ullapool
Gairloch
Loch Torridon
Loch Carron
Loch Alsh
Loch Hourn
Loch Nevis
Loch Sunart
Loch Linnhe
Loch Leven
Loch Etive
Loch Fyne
Loch Long
Loch Lomond
Loch Awe
Loch Tay
Loch Rannoch
Loch Ericht
Loch Laggan
Loch Lochy
Loch Ness
Loch Oich
Loch Arkaig
Loch Shiel
Loch Eil
Loch Moidart
Loch Aline
Loch Sunart
Loch Spelve
Loch Na Keal
Loch Scridain
Loch Buie
Loch Tuath
Loch Gruinart
Loch Indaal
Loch Ryan
Loch Doon
Loch Trool
Loch Dee
Loch Skerrow
Loch Ken
Loch Urr
Loch Fleet
Loch Shin
Loch Naver
Loch Eriboll
Loch Inchard
Loch Laxford
Loch Broom
Loch Maree
Loch Ewe
Loch Gairloch
Loch Kishorn
Loch Duich
Loch Long
Loch Hourn
Loch Nevis
Loch Morar
Loch Eil
Loch Linnhe
Loch Leven
Loch Etive
Loch Creran
Loch Feochan
Loch Melfort
Loch Craignish
Loch Sween
Loch Gilp
Loch Fyne
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